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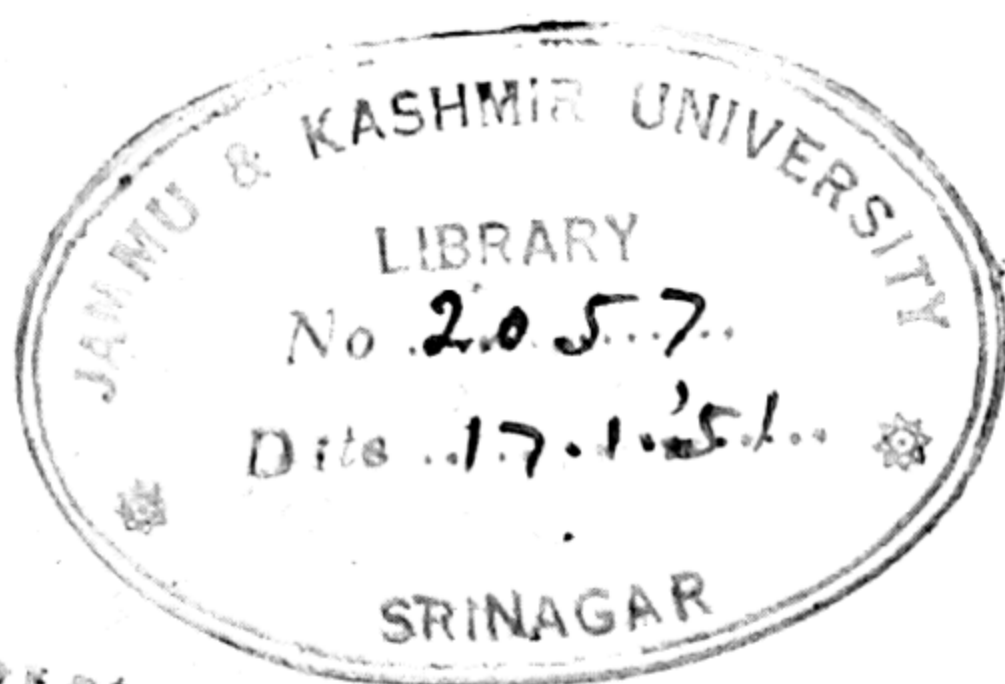
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# THE SEVEN PILLARS OF PEACE



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# THE SEVEN PILLARS OF PEACE

*by*

LORD DAVIES

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## ON THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOK

The author of this book, who died in June 1944, was well known in many spheres. Those who move in the worlds of politics, public service, philanthropy, business, agriculture and sport were all familiar with his name, and his achievements on behalf of the many causes and enterprises which he served so energetically earned for him a prominent place among his fellow-men.

But undoubtedly it was as a pioneer and a crusader in the field of international relationships that he made his deepest mark, and it will be for his service in that capacity that he will be most clearly remembered.

Lord Davies' critics, and even many of his friends, frequently maintained that his ideas and proposals in the sphere of world affairs were idealistic and utopian. Up to a point that may have been true, but the early exponents of all great reforms have always been belaboured with the same cudgel, and most of us will admit that if it had not been for the voices of the prophets crying in the wilderness throughout the centuries man would not have progressed as far from his original state as he has to-day. All social and political history shows that what was dismissed as utopian idealism yesterday may be recognised as the essence of practical realism to-day.

In 1920, when Lord Davies first advanced the idea of an International Police Force, our hopes for the elimination of war were centred on the League of Nations. Perhaps it was natural that at the conclusion of the most violent upheaval which had convulsed the world up to that time we should take an optimistic view of the prospects of the new League. Most of us were impatient with any suggestion that the great experiment would fail, and were in no mood to listen to those who sounded a note of alarm. But from the distance of to-day and with the experience of the years that have intervened in



mind, we see that Lord Davies and the few who supported him were all too right. We know now that the League of Nations was an inadequate instrument, that when the test came it proved unable to fulfil its essential task. Whether we entirely agree with the theory or not, we are forced to admit that there is some cogency, at least, in the argument that the second World War could have been avoided if a more effective organisation for the regulation of world affairs had been brought into being in 1919.

To-day, in 1945, the nations have a second chance. If they should fail to make the best use of it, a third upheaval, which may well bring about the final extinction of our civilisation, seems almost inevitable sooner or later.

During the years that lie immediately ahead, exhaustion can probably be relied upon to dictate peace. But, after the nations have enjoyed a breathing space, who can say with any assurance that the friction of conflicting interests or the expansionist tactics of a predatory power will not produce a new conflagration?

This is undoubtedly a time for hard thought, for only by applying ourselves determinedly to what the author of this book once described as "The Problem of the Twentieth Century" can we hope to find the solution. What the right solution is it is obviously beyond our competence to suggest, and opinions differ widely as to the course that is most likely to bring us to the goal. But of one thing we can be sure—that the solution is not likely to be found unless the masses of the people all over the world begin to exhibit a far greater interest in their own well-being, and cease to regard international affairs as a queer and "lofty" business which is completely and utterly beyond their scope. It is to their lot that it falls to fight the wars and to bear all the suffering and hardship which are inevitably entailed. It is their right and their duty, therefore, to keep themselves informed of what is going on and to insist that the relationships of nations are conducted in a manner of which they fully approve.

Perhaps it has been in this way that Lord Davies and those like him have made their greatest contribution. They have

been persistent in exhorting us to wake up to the fact that "the world is our concern," and in breaking down the apathy which, though still widespread, formerly amounted to an almost total blackout. In the pursuit of his efforts to galvanise the people, Lord Davies took a prominent part in building up the League of Nations Union and the International Federation of the League of Nations Societies. At one time the former included nearly a million members, and although its strength has now waned most lamentably, those who directed its affairs during its early years undoubtedly achieved a large measure of success in their "educational" endeavours. At a later stage Lord Davies' name became identified with the New Commonwealth Movement, which he was instrumental in founding in 1932, when he finally despaired of inducing the League of Nations Union to adopt the only policy which he regarded as realistic.

It would be inappropriate here to attempt to examine the merits of this policy, but among the many schemes which have been advanced for the preservation of peace it possesses one unique quality in that it is based upon the fruits of experience and really consists of the application to the affairs of nations of those fundamental principles which have produced law and order in our civil communities. In this volume Lord Davies goes a long way beyond the programme of the New Commonwealth and brings forward proposals which may still seem inapplicable to the world with which we have to deal. Nevertheless, the scheme bears the hall-mark of that soundness, mingled with far-sightedness, which always characterised his work.

At a time when the thoughts of all of us are directed towards reconstruction, we present this volume in the hope that it may serve in clarifying the issues that perplex us and in helping "the common man" to make more swift and certain progress towards the vital goal.





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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

#### *The Betrayal*

It is a melancholy reflection that after having defeated Germany and her allies twenty-five years ago the British people should have been compelled to fight the same battle all over again. This was a dear price to pay for the egregious follies and criminal mistakes we committed since 1919 and which engulfed us eventually in a second world war. Of course, all the blame does not rest upon our shoulders. It is shared by others. But nothing is to be gained by beholding the mote in our neighbour's eye and ignoring the beam in our own. We are bound to confess that the antics of successive governments in this country contributed towards the debacle. Moreover, a people gets the kind of government it deserves, and this is especially true in a democratic country such as ours. In the final analysis the mistakes of the government are our mistakes.

Since the conclusion of the first World War we have paid lip service to the Unknown Warrior and those he symbolised, to our comrades who made the supreme sacrifice for their country and all that it fought for during those tragic years. On each anniversary of Armistice Day, we who survived them renewed our vows to the Unknown Warrior and highly resolved that these dead should not have died in vain. But, instead of living up to our professions and discharging our debt, we helped to sabotage those institutions, in particular the League of Nations, which had been created at the conclusion of the last war to promote international justice and resist aggression. We attempted to appease the dictators and aggressors at the expense of other nations, and we refused either to co-operate with our neighbours in constituting a combined force for our mutual security

or to keep our own national defences from falling into disrepair. We gambled with our freedom and democratic way of life so dearly purchased with the blood of our comrades twenty-five years ago. That was the great betrayal. We are all involved in it.

### *Anarchy*

Two world wars in twenty-five years—wholesale slaughter and mass murder, universal degradation and impoverishment. Why? The answer is perfectly simple. Given fifty-odd national sovereign states, given fifty-odd armies, navies and air forces, given fifty-odd independent governments, each of which is the judge in its own quarrels and the punisher of its own wrongs ; I repeat, given these conditions, there can only be one result—war. So long as nations choose to live in a state of anarchy there is bound to be war—it is only a question of time. It has always been so, and always will be so. The national sovereign state is a law unto itself. It recognises no higher authority than its own government, insists on having the last word in any dispute, controls and fixes the size of its own killing machine. It repudiates the rule of law. It subordinates the public interest—the good of all—to the national interest—the selfishness of the few. It relies upon violence and fraud. It denies the claims of reason and justice. Every nation, large and small, rich and poor alike, clings to the fetish of national sovereignty, the sacred right to help your neighbour or to injure him, to advance the cause of civilisation or plunge the world into an orgy of murder. Do as you like, go as you please, each for himself, God for us all and the devil take the hindmost. That is the international morality we tolerate. It is founded upon the absolute freedom and licence of the national sovereign state. Is it surprising, then, that there have been two world wars in twenty-five years? What else could we expect? What else did we deserve? Nowadays, when distances have been annihilated, when news is flashed across the globe in a few seconds, nations have become mutually dependent upon each other, and when the existence of one



is threatened the security of all is menaced. In other words, the world has shrunk and a war which starts as a duel between two countries soon develops into a universal bombing match.

### *The Monster*

The English-speaking peoples are now fighting shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy ; he is a dictator, an aggressor, a tyrant and an assassin. Therefore, he is the worst kind of human monster ; but we must not forget that he is the product of the system of national sovereign states. So long as this system exists it will continue to breed this species of monster—in Germany, Italy, Japan, to-day ; in some other part of the world to-morrow. Unless mankind is incurably brutal, bloodthirsty and bad, it is inconceivable that under any sane or civilised system this human gorilla could have made its appearance at all. Not only is he able to hurl the peoples who inhabit his own sovereign state into the maelstrom of war, but he also succeeds in dragging the peoples of every other sovereign state into it as well. So we, the British and American peoples, who tolerate this anarchic system, are now paying the price of our folly, stupidity and complacency, our betrayal of the Unknown Warrior. Once more we are engaged in defending our freedom and democratic way of life because, during the interval between World Wars I and II, we failed to work together in building the Temple of Peace.

### *The Screen*

Furthermore, we, the men and women of this generation, labour under a terrible responsibility, because we have experienced two world wars in our lifetime. On two occasions within the short space of thirty years we have witnessed the wanton destruction of millions of human beings who have been hurled into eternity by the deliberate actions of their fellowmen. Unlike earthquakes, tidal waves and other unavoidable death-dealing agencies, war is not a haphazard affair because it is scientifically planned and meticulously organised in advance by human brains. It is not an Act

of God, but an institution devised by man. Here is Lord Balfour's testimony. After remarking that "he was almost more disturbed by peace movements than by talk about war," he said: "For these demonstrations do not deal with the real causes of war; they just put up a paper screen, painted to delude the people of goodwill all over the world into thinking that something is really being done to prevent war, while in reality, behind the paper screen, the forces of militarism are sharpening their knives all the time."

### *The Responsibility*

The forces of militarism! What do they include? Obviously they are not confined to war offices, admiralties and air ministries. It is true that these departments are responsible for the planning of war and the sharpening of the knives, but they are not free agents. They are the servants of and take their orders from the governments of the national sovereign states which they serve. In totalitarian states the forces of militarism are controlled by the dictators and their henchmen. They are the arch-plotters behind the screen. On the other hand, in democratic countries the military machines are controlled by the governments. They in turn are directly responsible to the elected representatives of the peoples. Consequently the national parliaments cannot be absolved from blame, because it is their business to find out what is going on behind the screen. Moreover, as these representatives are chosen freely by the electorates, it follows that the peoples cannot divest themselves of all responsibility. Consciously or unconsciously they also are involved in the proceedings behind the screen.

And so we are confronted by this extraordinary spectacle: the real plotters include dictators and democracies. They are all agreed upon one thing, namely, to uphold the sanctity of the national sovereign state. This means that they all acquiesce in the system of international anarchy which is bound to produce wars. No sooner has one war ended than the forces of militarism assemble behind the painted screen to sharpen their knives for the next. For

a time this process may be delayed by sheer exhaustion, but after a short interval one government begins to set the pace, and all the others are compelled to follow its lead.

### *Re-armament*

And so the re-armament race between the national sovereign states starts all over again and ends in another war, when one set of militarists consider that their knives are sharper than those of their neighbours. Unfortunately, the peoples whose lives and treasure are the stakes in these colossal gambles support and finance their national forces of militarism in order to maintain the ancient system of international duelling, or trial by battle. They acquiesce in these arrangements because they are citizens of national sovereign states, all of which refuse to submit themselves to any rule of law. It follows that in order to enjoy the privilege of living in a state of lawlessness—of being the judge and jury in their own quarrels and of asserting their sovereign rights—the peoples must from time to time, perhaps at intervals of twenty, forty or fifty years, allow themselves to be used as cannon fodder at the dictation not necessarily of their own but of one or other of the national forces of militarism working behind the screen. They will then be called upon to attack another sovereign state or to defend the one to which they happen to belong. As Rousseau pointed out two centuries ago, “We have taken all kinds of precautions against private wars only to kindle national wars a thousand times more terrible, and in joining a particular group of men we have really declared ourselves the enemies of the whole race.”

### *The Delusion*

In the meantime, in the interval between wars, the peoples may be persuaded and deluded by their governments and rulers into the belief that by signing treaties, concluding pacts and holding international conferences something is really being done to prevent war. To-day, however, the events of the last thirty years should have convinced them that more drastic remedies are needed if they are determined



to rid themselves of this bloody institution, which on two occasions in the first half of the twentieth century has cut off the flower of their virile young manhood.

Nor must we forget that during the period between World Wars I and II western civilisation began to develop soft spots—isolationism, appeasement and materialism—which almost brought about its extinction when it was attacked by the dictators who, in the interval, had been engaged in sharpening their knives, whilst the democracies had allowed theirs to become blunt.

### *The Paramount Question*

Consequently, the paramount question that confronts our generation is whether we have learnt any lessons from our bitter experiences, and whether we can muster sufficient wisdom, energy and will-power at the end of this struggle to rebuild the shattered fabric of our civilisation upon a new and more solid foundation. In other words, can we discover a substitute for war which will call forth those virile qualities of human nature—self-sacrifice, courage and endurance? Can we divert them into the channels of goodwill and construction instead of employing them as the agents of hate and destruction?

The majority of the United Nations are democracies. At the conclusion of this war they will have established the conditions which will enable them to construct a lasting peace, provided they seize the opportunity which will then be afforded them. If, however, they still cling to their national sovereignties as they did after the last war, then the opportunity will be frittered away once more. The sacrifice and suffering will have been endured in vain.

On the other hand, if they are determined to erect a new Temple of Peace, the peoples must pull down the paper screen and disperse the forces of militarism sheltering behind it. Moreover, if they are to free themselves from the thralldom of war, the rank and file must grasp the fundamental principles upon which their new order is to be founded. These principles must be positive, not negative; constructive, not

destructive ; co-operative, not competitive. They must be easily understood by all.

What are these principles ? What are the seven essential pillars needed to support the structure and to ensure the stability of the Temple of Peace ? They are morality, justice, freedom, collective force, democracy, federalism and education. Unless the nations are prepared to erect these pillars the Temple will collapse, just as the League of Nations disintegrated and toppled over into the abyss of a second world war.

Seven pillars ! We may be told that another essential pillar has been forgotten, the pillar of economics, and that relatively it is much more important than the others. A moment's reflection, however, should convince us that this is not so. In his book "A Time for Greatness," Mr. Agar has reminded us that politics, not economics, is the governing factor in international relationships. This is what he says :—

"We refused to decide anything in 1919 and the following years. We refused to examine first principles . . . We treated the means of life as if they were ends, degrading the moral status of our world and making possible a revolt against civilisation itself . . . An example of our confusion between means and ends is the tendency to put economic problems first on our list of woes. The economic problems are a sign of our sickness and they are most painful. . . . Power to control the material environment which is the economic aspect of life is a means to an end. The end, which is civilisation, rests upon power to discriminate in the name of moral values. The second power cannot be won by studying and improving the economic machine. A world which thinks it can understand itself and cure itself by concentrating on the economic problem is a world which has failed to put first things first and which has substituted the means for the end."

The economic stimulus is not the primary motive which impels nations to attack their neighbours and plunge the world into war. On the contrary, the paramount urge is a desire for mastery over others, for domination over other



peoples. Even Hitler, the gross materialist and arch-looter, tells us in "Mein Kampf" that "men do not die for business."

The results of industrial depression, the erection of trade barriers, the desire to extend the frontiers and to increase the national wealth, are contributory causes of war. So also are the inhibitions of isolationism, the existence of minorities, national, racial and colour prejudices, and, above all, atavistic tendencies and colossal ignorance, which in a greater or lesser degree help to undermine the structure of the Temple of Peace. But the dynamite which finally blows it into smithereens is the inordinate desire of one nation to enforce its will upon others and, if possible, to assert its hegemony in the arena of national sovereign states. Clearly, then, our first task is to curb this over-weening propensity, the paramount motive which always has been and always will be the basic cause of aggression, whether it operates in the case of individuals or in the relationships of nations.

It will probably be agreed that the experience of mankind proves that this all-pervading element in human nature can only be controlled by establishing the rule of law, which involves setting up some machinery of government to administer and, if necessary, to enforce the law. There is no other means of holding in awe the aggressive tendencies, combative instincts and disorderly impulses which manifest themselves in the conduct of nations no less than in the behaviour of individuals.

### *Political Machinery*

And when the political machinery of supra-national government—rudimentary as it may be at the outset—becomes effective, not only will it prevent aggression but it will also be able to deal with the subsidiary or contributory causes of war. Having discovered a remedy for the major evil, the others will yield to similar treatment, provided that the appropriate institutions are forthcoming. It will then be possible to find a solution for economic problems. In other words, "Seek ye first the kingdom of Righteousness and

all these things shall be added unto you." Furthermore, when a real, not a sham, international authority has been created, possessing and controlling a preponderance of economic and military resources, the security of its states members will be assured. Under these conditions it will no longer be necessary for each state member to plan its economic and industrial organisation on the basis of military requirements independently of all the rest, because the defence of each will have been merged in the defence of all.

In the long run, when all states have become members of the Authority, such an arrangement will destroy the vicious circle of competing national armaments, tariffs and economic self-sufficiency. In these circumstances no longer will it be necessary to preserve key industries or commandeer the sources of raw materials in order to provide armaments for the next international duel. Tariffs can then be dispensed with, economic maladjustments remedied, trade barriers removed, and unfair and subsidised competition eliminated by a resort to the machinery of international government, reinforced by trade conferences, joint commissions, committees of enquiry, etc. But until this political machinery has been created and war, as the method of settling international disputes, has been outlawed and abolished, these bodies will not be able to function effectively and produce satisfactory results.

This procedure has already been introduced into the economic sphere by the International Labour Office, which functioned before the war at Geneva. On the whole, its efforts, though narrowly circumscribed, were successful. The Bank of International Settlements was another attempt to deal with these problems on a co-operative basis. What is needed to stimulate economic collaboration on a much wider scale and make these and similar institutions effective is the *political* machinery to inaugurate the rule of law and prevent the collapse of the Temple of Peace. But to ensure that the political machinery will work smoothly and effectively it is essential that the democracies should develop an informed

public opinion, and this duty devolves upon every member of the free communities. Every one has his or her part to play.

Visitors to the city of Milan cannot fail to have been impressed by the magnificence of its cathedral. There is a legend that during the centuries which have elapsed since its foundations were laid every citizen of Milan, rich and poor, has contributed something towards the erection and beautification of this stately edifice.

Similarly, when the forces of evil have been signally defeated and World War II has been won by the United Nations, the foundations of the Temple of Peace must be laid, and men and women of goodwill in every part of the globe will be able to make their contribution, large and small, towards the erection of the seven indispensable pillars upon which this edifice should rest. The twentieth century has been described as the people's century—the century of the common man. To what nobler and more inspiring task, to what higher and more humane purpose, can we dedicate ourselves than by consecrating our thoughts, energies and resources in building a Temple of Peace and a citadel of justice upon the ruins of a shattered and disillusioned world?



## CHAPTER 2

### THE PILLAR OF MORALITY

#### *Moral Sense*

The first pillar supporting any new edifice of peace must be Morality. There can be no enduring achievement in this world unless it is the result of a spiritual awakening, and is able to make its appeal to the conscience and moral sense of mankind. The vast majority of people, at any rate in the western democracies, nurtured in the traditions of their forefathers, are conscious of the gulf between good and evil, and are still able to distinguish between right and wrong. Few will deny that such a broad distinction exists, although opinions may differ as to the exact position of the dividing line between them. Furthermore, during the nineteenth century democratic and liberal-minded peoples were imbued with the conviction that civilisation was advancing, slowly perhaps, towards some viewless goal and the fulfilment of a higher purpose. For instance, this outlook is expressed in some of Lindsay Gordon's poems :—

“ Onward, onward, toiling ever,  
Weary steps and slow.  
Doubting oft, despairing never,  
To the goal we go.  
Forward, forward, still we wander,  
Tinted hills that lie  
In the red horizon yonder,  
Is the goal so nigh ? ”

This inspiring idealism, this belief in the onward march of civilisation, added to the zest of life, enhanced the dignity of man and gave meaning to human existence. The first world war, however, came like a cold douche and created doubts, confusion and disillusionment in many minds which were not dispelled by its aftermath. Subsequent events, the isolation of the United States, the economic depressions, the failure of the League of Nations, combined with the

growth of nationalism, the spread of materialism and, above all, the absence of any noble ideal or moral purpose calling for courage and self-sacrifice, culminated in political bankruptcy and put a premium on political immorality.

### *The Saboteurs*

In this new atmosphere of doubt, hesitation and despondency, often bordering upon despair, the cynics and nihilists, those saboteurs of civilisation, discovered fresh fields for their activities in every country. They denied the possibility of a higher purpose, and repudiated the idea that human existence had any meaning beyond the gratification of the natural instincts and animal senses of man. His economic advancement was regarded as the sole and paramount interest. To these "realists" and materialists, both men and women, spiritual values were non-existent. Ideals and aspirations counted for nothing. Political morality was a sham and delusion. The individual in the national community, and the peoples in the international arena, were treated merely as pawns in the game of political hide and seek. One of the most flagrant examples was the General Election of 1935 when Lord Baldwin's Government was returned to power on the strength of its assurance that it would support the Covenant of the League in its entirety. But a few weeks after the declaration of the polls it had agreed to the dismemberment of Abyssinia in direct violation of the principles of the Covenant. Not long afterwards it jettisoned the League altogether.

In the United States President Harding and his successors entered into a competition of blind man's buff. Potential friends and enemies, democracies and dictators, were treated on the same footing until, with the collapse of France, the writing appeared upon the wall. But until they were attacked in 1941 the American people persuaded themselves that they could live in a state of happy and prosperous isolation, apart from the rest of the world. Pearl Harbour was ten years overdue.

In Russia a political party, a relatively small section of the



total population, seized the reins of government and, acting on the principle that the end justifies the means, proceeded to starve to death several millions of its fellow-citizens in order to assert the sanctity of its economic creed. In Germany and Italy the dictators resorted to every trick and subterfuge in order to stimulate the political immorality of their peoples. In their jazz orchestras the nationalist big drum was the most effective instrument. It silenced the still, small voice of conscience, and its echoes reverberated through the lobbies and chancellories of Europe.

### *The Passive Barbarians*

Mr. Agar describes the cynics and materialists as "the modern barbarians." He divides them into two categories, the active and the passive. The former are bent upon pillage and destruction. They worship at the shrine of two false gods—power and loot. The latter rely upon compromise and appeasement; their gods are personal ambition and self-interest. In the period we are considering between World Wars I and II, the active barbarians in Berlin, Rome and Tokio discovered kindred spirits and imitators in other parts of the world. In democratic countries these semi-active disciples of Hitler and Mussolini, the adherents of Mosley, Huey Long, Marcel Deat and other Fascist leaders, relied upon ridicule, subversive propaganda and racketeering methods. They were unscrupulous and ruthless, and their minds were attuned to demagoguery and violence. Of course, many varying degrees of barbarism were to be found in the non-active or passive category. They ranged from the mentality of the admirers of the dictators and the haters of democracy to the state of mind of the appeasers, money-baggers, isolationists and peace pledgers, who feared Hitler and Mussolini but nevertheless tolerated their methods and crimes. These imposters were to be found in all sections of the community—in business circles, the Churches, Parliament and even in the Government. For instance, Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax visited Rome after the Abyssinian debacle and drank to the health of the King of



Italy as the new Emperor of Ethiopia. We may perhaps be forgiven if we failed to discern a burning zeal for democracy and the rule of law in their hearts when they participated in these celebrations.

To sum up, the passive barbarians included the friends of Fascism, the appeasers and isolationists, those who had no convictions other than self-interest and the lust for power, and those who had no stomach to resist the dictators and aggressors. These were the men who destroyed the League of Nations. Whatever its failings and shortcomings may have been, it will at least be conceded that this Confederation was founded on the concept of international morality. It was an embryonic institution capable of development and improvement. The fact that it aroused the intense hatred and enmity of all the dictators, and was ridiculed or abandoned by the passive barbarians everywhere, was an additional reason why the democratic peoples should have supported it. But their leaders, devoid of moral courage and bereft of any high purpose, refused to accept the challenge of the active barbarians, and tamely acquiesced in the repudiation of the Covenant, in order to acquire merit in the chancellories of Berlin, Rome and Tokio. This policy of subterfuge and expediency was applauded or condoned by the press barons and the majority of newspapers in this country, many of whom lost no opportunity of decrying the League and pandering to the appetites of the dictators. Describing themselves as realists, these blind leaders of the blind must also bear a heavy responsibility for the collapse of international morality which culminated in World War II.

Perhaps France, where apparently thousands of people had neither convictions nor courage, is the saddest example. In a vain attempt to save the ship they threw overboard all the principles and institutions they had professed and inherited since the days of the Revolution. The passive barbarians in France clasped the hands of the active barbarians across the Rhine. Between them they destroyed for the time being what was left of French civilisation. The obvious lesson is that once political morality has been undermined, when

conscience is dead and the soul of a nation has departed, the active forces of barbarism will take possession of the corpse and the loot.

### *The Active Barbarians*

We now come to the active barbarians. Their main preoccupations are not only to ridicule any conception of political morality, and to cut themselves adrift from every humane tradition, but if possible to destroy civilisation and the institutions it has so laboriously built up in Western Europe and America, since the barbaric period which followed the eclipse of Greece and the fall of Rome. The man who personifies this creed, the arch-nihilist, the modern barbarian, the devout pagan, is Adolph Hitler. He has denounced and challenged the civilisation of the Western democracies. He has attacked the Church and blasted the liberties of every country in Europe. He has hounded on his armies to loot and destroy. In cold blood he has decreed the extermination of the Jews and Poles. He has trampled on every law, human and Divine. He has mesmerised and bewitched his people to the point of insanity. In the span of a few years his dynamic barbarism has bridged the gulf of centuries and linked him with his predecessor, Attila the Hun. To-day the German nation, having divested itself of every civilised garment, stands forth in its utter and primeval nakedness, reeking with the blood of its victims and damned in the sight of God and man. To this sad plight of degradation and bestiality a people, once great and respected, has been driven by its political immorality, its failure to distinguish between good and evil, between right and wrong. The conclusion is that if a shred of justice remains in the world it demands the capitulation of this nation, which after prolonged and calculated preparations plunged the world into the second holocaust of another world war.

### *The Paramount Issue*

It will then be made clear to the active, no less than to the passive barbarians, wherever the latter may hide



their skulking heads, that the negative creed which they sponsored, tinkered with, or tolerated, does not pay, and that it will never conquer the positive aspirations of the free peoples. We must, however, still be on our guard against quislings, appeasers and isolationists. Passive barbarism is a disease, and it cannot be cured over-night. The men of Munich may be undergoing a period of convalescence, but we can never be quite sure that they have completely rid themselves of the germs which sapped their courage and undermined their political morality during the tragic interval between World Wars I and II. Munich was the culminating point, the highwater mark of an immoral policy of surrender which had been steadily pursued for many years. Those who in the name of religion and peace asked us to render thanksgiving to the Almighty for the vilest betrayal in our history can never merit our trust and confidence again, for not only were we guilty of an act of treachery to a small country, but we threw overboard all the ideals and principles for which we fought in the last war and have been professing ever since.

Those who sold their honour for high office, and held out the hand of friendship to the dictators, can never be forgiven for their betrayals of freedom and democracy. Those who blindly followed them or were subdued by the crack of the Party whip may now have undergone their season of repentance. In the last four years they have witnessed a world struggle, a gigantic civil war between the forces of civilisation and barbarism, between good and evil, right and wrong. Perhaps the scales have now fallen from their eyes and they may see clearly that there are things worth fighting for, that man does not live by bread alone, and that, after all, there may be some higher purpose to serve. Moreover, the tragic events and bitter lessons of the last thirty years should have convinced the peoples—the rank and file—in democratic countries that lapses in the sphere of political morality, broken promises, dishonoured treaties and the repudiation of the rule of law, must in the long run be paid for in blood, tears, toil and sweat, and that consequently the first

pillar upon which the new Temple of Peace must rest is Morality.

### *Attitude to War*

It was von Moltke who said that peace was a dream and an unpleasant dream. Whether it is pleasant or unpleasant, whether it is a period of progress or decline, depends upon the political morality of the nations who have underwritten and guaranteed the peace. If they are obsessed by materialism, if they tolerate injustice and oppression, it will be an unpleasant dream, because where there is no vision the people perish. The future will also depend upon the moral attitude of the peoples towards the institution of war.

Why do we want peace? What is the paramount motive which impels us to demand the abolition of war? What is the urge which drives us to denounce this hoary institution? Are our reactions due to the unpleasant experiences of war—the loss and suffering it entails—or do they spring from a deep-seated indignation that man is still unable to settle his differences without recourse to the wholesale slaughter of his fellow-human beings?

It is certain that at the conclusion of this struggle we shall witness an overwhelming reaction against war. Popular feeling will be aroused in every country and will demand that steps shall be taken to prevent a recurrence of this catastrophe in future. But the revulsion against this ancient institution, the international duel or trial by battle, this instrument of international legislation, is nothing new. On the contrary it is common form, because it has marked the conclusion of all wars. The demand may be emotional, but it is nevertheless sincere. The slogan will be "Never again," and the mortality, misery, suffering, bereavement and impoverishment caused by this world-wide orgy of insanity will swell the chorus. Immediate demobilisation and disarmament will be urged upon the governments, as they were at the end of the last war. But if the sacrifices and sufferings endured by the democracies were necessary to save civilisation from barbarism, then why should they



not thoroughly purge the Augean stables everywhere, including their own, and complete their task on this occasion by establishing the rule of law? Why should they be in such a hurry to relapse into the condition of an anarchic peace and to exchange the uniform of the international policeman for the outfit of the civilian?

### *The Dominant Motive*

Twelve years ago, when Japan invaded Manchuria, political morality demanded that we should honour our pledges under the Covenant and rescue the victim of aggression before it was too late. Instead we continued to disarm, prevaricate and appease until the eleventh hour. Then we were finally compelled to fight, not in order to assert the principles of political morality but to save our own skins. We were not concerned to uphold the rule of law or to defend the liberties of small and weak nations: otherwise we should have intervened long before when China, Abyssinia, Albania and Czecho-Slovakia were being overrun. But at last, when Hitler attacked Poland, we saw the red light. Our national existence was threatened and we realised it would be our turn next.

The American people, now our friends and allies, were in no better case. They, too, were riddled through and through with the same dry rot. We both refused to accept the challenge of the active barbarians until our own security was immediately and directly menaced. Furthermore, our antipathy to war was due not to any instinctive loathing or moral hatred of the cult and institution of war, because we have always acquiesced in the system of national sovereign states that breeds anarchy and war. It is true we realised how unpleasant, destructive and costly war would be, so we sacrificed our political morality, honour and sanity in order to avoid it. That was the real reason, the paramount motive, which impelled us, not our abhorrence of mass murder as the method of settling international quarrels and disputes, or our determination to establish the rule of law. But if at the end of the last war we had denounced the system

of international duelling as a crime against God and man ; if we had volunteered to join in a hue and cry to apprehend the international thief or murderer ; if we had pooled our military, naval and air resources with those of our neighbours, to maintain the rule of law, under the direction of the international sheriff, then we should never have been challenged by the active barbarians.

### *A Righteous Peace*

Had we been convinced in 1918, when the armistice was signed, that trial by battle was a stupid, insane and criminal method of legislating for human affairs, we should have taken effective steps through the instrumentality of the League to prevent aggression. Moreover, if instead of trying to abolish force through disarmament conferences the democracies had recognised that it was an indispensable policing instrument for upholding the law and maintaining the peace, then they would have combined to pool their resources and to take the initiative against the active barbarians before the latter had re-armed and organised themselves on a war footing for the destruction of western civilisation. In the end Hitler and the Tokio bandit compelled us to fight against our will and we had no choice in the matter. We were forced to defend ourselves because we had been unwilling to inaugurate the rule of law and to submit ourselves, as well as our neighbours, to its jurisdiction. We refused to surrender our national sovereignty and to make the sacrifices which political morality demanded of us in times of peace.

It follows that morality implies not the abolition of all force or physical violence but its organisation and employment for righteous ends. It must become the servant of the law and not the law giver. Unless we are convinced that international duelling or trial by battle is an immoral method of trying to settle our differences, not merely that it is a costly and unpleasant way of doing so, we shall never be able to erect the first pillar of the Temple of Peace. This implies that the Temple itself must be purged of all un-

cleanness and corruption. The tables of the money-changers must be overthrown. The vile traffic in arms must be suppressed and private profit eliminated from the armament industries. The sellers of doves must be expelled. The anaemic vendors of peace at any price, the passive barbarians, the appeasers and peace-pledgers, must be driven from the precincts. In other words the peace must be a righteous peace, and when injustices or grievances arise they must be settled by a resort to reason and equity, instead of to violence and force. This change also implies that nations, like individuals, must be willing to submit themselves to the rule of law. In their relationships with other nations they must be prepared to relinquish their national sovereignty by creating an International Authority or Confederation, which will be sufficiently powerful to administer and, if necessary, to enforce the public law. Joubert tells us that "Force and Right are the governors of this world: Force until Right is ready." In the twentieth century political morality demands that this order shall be reversed. Right must reign upon the throne, Force must occupy the footstool.



## CHAPTER 3

# THE PILLAR OF JUSTICE

### *Justice, the Foundation of Peace*

The second pillar of the Temple of Peace is Justice. Next to Morality it is the most important of all the pillars. It is indispensable, because war cannot be eliminated unless it is possible to secure international justice or what President Theodore Roosevelt once described as "the peace of righteousness."

It is a truism that a peace founded on injustice cannot be durable and, as the framers of the Briand-Kellogg Pact have now discovered, it is not enough merely to outlaw war. A substitute must be found in order that disputes may be settled by a peaceful, not a violent, procedure. Nor is it sufficient to discover a substitute ; that substitute must be capable of dealing out justice impartially and guaranteeing its execution.

When the League of Nations was founded many people imagined that it was a gift from Heaven which, like the gentle rain, would descend upon this wicked world and all would be well. In their view the League existed solely to prevent war, not to guarantee justice ; to secure peace even though it was peace at any price. Such a conception was obviously wrong and short-sighted. Peace at any price means war in the long run.

Those people whose main preoccupation was to stave off trouble, to patch up a settlement, to secure peace for their own day and generation, regardless of grievances, injustice and crime, lived in a fool's paradise. They failed to understand that a sense of injustice can only be removed when the grievance or dispute has been subjected to the processes of reasoning and discussion ; when the evidence has been carefully sifted and the facts investigated, and when the



issues have been adjudicated upon by an impartial court or tribunal. Consequently, until such a procedure has been established, based upon equity and equality in the sight of the law, the sense of injustice will remain, and it will be impossible to prevent a recurrence of war.

This was one of the fatal flaws in the Covenant. When negotiations at the Council table ended in a deadlock the national sovereign states refused to submit their disputes and quarrels to disinterested and third-party judgment.

This refusal on the part of governments, democratic no less than totalitarian, is a denial of justice. In effect it is an admission that when an impasse has been reached in the relationships of sovereign states the only method of ending it is by a resort to physical violence. It means that the still, small voice of conscience and reason, which distinguishes mankind from the beasts of the field, is to be drowned by the tom-toms of war.

### *Attitude of Governments*

This attitude on the part of rulers and ministers is quite natural. In fact it is just what we might expect. In the past they and their predecessors have wielded almost unlimited powers in these matters of life and death. They have always reserved to themselves the last word in any dispute and the right to be the judges in their own quarrels. They regard themselves as the sole custodians of the national interests and honour. Whether these interests conflict with the general interest—the interest of humanity—does not concern them. Why then should they bind themselves or their peoples to accept the findings of any International Court or Tribunal, however impartial and disinterested it may be? No, rather than sacrifice their authority and prestige the governments of the sovereign states prefer to risk the lives of their subjects by recourse to the ancient practice of trial by battle, and by submitting the issue to the arbitrament of a savage war. Clearly this is the mentality of the Middle Ages when trial by ordeal or battle was the recognised method of settling disputes.

*Attitude of Peoples*

The Governments are supported by their peoples because the education, outlook and atavistic tendencies of the latter have so stereotyped their minds that they cannot imagine any alternative. They appear to be incapable of conceiving any higher authority than their own national sovereign state. They are unable to visualise any combination of authorities—a Federation or Confederation—founded on the principles of justice and co-operation, to which they would be willing to give their loyalty and owe their allegiance. The result is that they are periodically led to the slaughter by their leaders, all of whom in a greater or lesser degree are obsessed with the craving for power and refuse to part with one jot or one tittle of the sovereign rights hitherto exercised by their predecessors, as the agents of the national sovereign states.

When Christ declared that he had come into the world “to bear witness to the truth” Pontius Pilate asked, “What is truth?” To-day, when it is suggested to dictators and ministers that they should bear witness to the concept of justice, they ask “What is justice?” Unfortunately, the majority of people in both totalitarian and democratic countries reiterate this question.

*Concept of Justice*

Is it, then, surprising that up till now all attempts to erect this pillar in the Temple of Peace have met with failure? There is no reason, however, to suppose that the task is insuperable, but if it is to be accomplished, it means that the peoples and individuals who engage in this enterprise must be animated by zeal and enthusiasm for the ideal and concept of justice. They must regard it as an essential part of the higher purpose of life, something that is worth striving and dying for. Fortified by this conviction the peoples will be able to save themselves from themselves by themselves for themselves, by combining to extricate themselves from the shackles of national sovereignty which hitherto have prevented them from following the paths of sanity, justice



and peace, and have caused them to stumble into the abyss of madness, anarchy and war. It will also enable them to save themselves from the mistakes and follies so often committed by their own rulers and governments, by insisting that the latter, acting as their agents, shall submit themselves to the rule of law.

This system involves the establishment of an International Authority equipped with institutions for administering and enforcing the law. The people will then be able to support their government in the knowledge that its cause has been declared to be just and righteous by the highest tribunal of justice that the world has yet known. They will also realise that the decisions and judgments of such a tribunal, based upon agreed principles of equity and equality in the sight of the law, will be upheld not only by the successful litigant, but also by all those nations who have combined together to erect the Temple of Peace. In these circumstances it will no longer be possible for any sane person to seek refuge in the old alibi "My country, right or wrong." This shelter of false patriotism will no longer be bomb-proof.

### *Definition of Justice*

Nevertheless the realists and reactionaries will persist, no doubt, in reiterating the question "What is justice?" Justinian defined it as "the constant and perpetual wish to render everyone his due." This wish is expressed in the injunction "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them." To most of us it implies a just, fair and equitable settlement of all quarrels and disputes which, in default of mutual agreement, must be reached by an appeal to impartial and disinterested third party judgment.

No doubt there are frequent miscarriages of justice. It could hardly be otherwise when it is administered by human beings with all their frailties and shortcomings. But in the abstract the concept of justice is recognised by all civilised nations in their internal affairs and in the relationships of individuals and of groups. Moreover, the methods

employed in the administration of justice in any country are a fair test of its claim to be regarded as a civilised community. The impartiality and incorruptibility of its judges, magistrates and law administrators are the foundations of its social structure and stability.

### *Equity*

We are naturally prone to define justice in its narrower sense, namely, the application and interpretation of the law expressed in juridical decisions and the verdicts of the courts. In reality, however, it has a much wider range, because it embraces the idea of equity. To render everyone his due in cases where there is no law it is necessary to appeal to the innate sense of justice and fair play which we may expect to find in a body of impartial and disinterested persons whose character, integrity and experience fit them for the discharge of this highly responsible and difficult task. This, in effect, means establishing a procedure which puts the legislative function into commission, and the body exercising this function may be described as an "Equity Tribunal." It is important to bear in mind the distinction between juridical decisions and equitable solutions, remembering that both are included in our concept of justice.

### *International Law*

Justice also implies a code of law, a peaceful procedure for effecting changes in the law and the means of administering and enforcing it.

Since the days of Ancient Greece attempts have been made to compile a code of international law, the most notable being the monumental treatise of Hugo Grotius in the seventeenth century, entitled "Laws of War and Peace." Grotius, however, postulated one set of rules for the conduct of war, another applicable to conditions of peace. But in any civilised community where aggression is regarded as a crime, and the practice of duelling has been outlawed, it is clear that there can only be one code applicable at all times and in all circumstances. The laws governing the employment of force in the relationships of states, the



so-called laws of war, would then become policing regulations, and, as such, would form a substantive part of the international code.

In reality, however, what is described as international law is not law at all. It is merely a set of rules compiled by international lawyers which every sovereign state is at liberty to set aside if it suits its self-interest or convenience to do so. Consequently this so-called international law is a fiction and an illusion because in the community of sovereign states there is no law-giver, no law administrator and no law enforcer.

### *Implications of Justice*

On the other hand, we find that national communities possess a legislative authority—a dictator, bureaucracy, parliament or federal assembly—to make the laws; an executive and judiciary to administer them; and a police force to uphold them. These institutions, based upon the concept of justice, are guarantees to the citizens that the laws will become effective. Without them there would be no law, only a condition of anarchy.

Similarly in the international sphere there can be no rule of law, and consequently no justice, unless and until an authority has been created, equipped with institutions to declare what the law is, to administer and interpret it, and if necessary to enforce it.

It is a sad reflection that although the animal we call man has been able to make stupendous advances in science and economics he has never yet been able to grapple with and solve this ethical and political problem. He has failed to devise a system which would enable him to reproduce in the relationships of states and nations the institutions he has developed in his national communities to dispense justice between individuals and between groups. In his own country he is willing to treat his fellow men as equals in the sight of the law and to submit himself to the laws of the land. But when it comes to dealing with other human beings—the subjects of another sovereign state—he refuses

to recognise the principle of equality, and not only declines to be bound by any laws of the world, but resents any proposal that such laws should even be promulgated.

Clearly, this is an immoral and insane attitude to assume, especially when at frequent intervals it involves the premature and violent deaths of millions of people, to say nothing of the destruction of wealth which has been laboriously accumulated in order to promote the material happiness of mankind. This attitude arises partly from the perversity and conservatism of human nature and partly because mankind up till now has only paid lip service to the concept of justice in the relationships of sovereign states.

### *Sovereignty v. Justice*

Unfortunately it is true that in order to maintain the system of anarchy and lawlessness the so-called civilised man of the twentieth century, like his predecessor, the uncivilised man of the dark ages, prefers to organise his resources for war—the international duel—rather than submit himself to any rule of law. Perhaps he will continue to do so but, on the other hand, if he is determined to put an end to anarchy and war the first thing he must do is to demolish the pillar of national sovereignty, because it is the main support of the Temple of Mars. Conversely, if he has any serious intention of building the Temple of Peace he must simultaneously lay the foundations of the pillar of justice. He must choose between these two pillars, sovereignty or justice. He cannot have both because they are the principal supports of their respective temples. If we surrender sovereignty, the fabric of Mars comes tumbling down. If we uphold justice, the structure of peace will hold together. Consequently, whilst we dismantle the pillar of sovereignty we must collect the materials for the pillar of justice, which, broadly speaking, may be divided into three categories, namely, the law-giving, the law-administering and law-interpreting sections. But this pillar will be incomplete and will fail in its support of the Temple unless all these materials, legislative, administrative and judicial, are included



in its construction. Alongside it is another indispensable pillar, the pillar of force, to ensure that when storms beat upon the Temple, the pillar of justice will be able to withstand the strains and stresses to which it would be subjected.

### *The International Authority*

At the conclusion of this war, when the Axis powers have been defeated, the law-giver will be an International Authority or Confederation, composed of the United Nations, whose representatives should be charged with the responsibility of drafting a new Covenant or Constitution for the Authority.

### *World Magna Charta*

They should also agree upon the general principles which they are prepared to accept as the basis of a code of law governing their future relationships. Many of these principles have already been embodied in protocols and pacts which have been ratified by almost every country in the world. For instance, there was the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928 which declared that aggression should be regarded as a crime and that war should no longer be employed as an instrument of national policy. There was also the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which proposed that disputes should be settled by arbitration. Since the war all the United Nations have become signatories of the Atlantic Charter. There are other international documents of a similar character, based upon general principles, which have already received the approval and assent of governments representing the vast majority of mankind. These declarations should include equality in the sight of the law, the rights of man, the freedom of the seas and of the air, freedom of trade, access to raw materials, trusteeship of colonial territories, and others. Before the conclusion of the war they should be incorporated in a WORLD MAGNA CHARTA—A DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS, as the foundation and starting point of a new code of international law.

### *The Code of Law*

It is further suggested that Commissions should be established by the International Authority to work out the



implications of this new Charter and embody them in treaty or statutory form for submission to a Parliament or Assembly, the legislative organ of the Authority. This is by no means a new or revolutionary procedure. In this country Royal Commissions are often appointed to investigate, report and make recommendations upon various subjects before new legislation is introduced by the Government into Parliament. These recommendations usually constitute the framework of Bills when they are submitted for the consideration of both Houses. Perhaps the most recent example of this exploratory and preliminary stage of legislation, based upon principles of equity, is to be found in the Beveridge Report. It may be true that this is a one-man document, but it has served the same purpose as the report of a Royal Commission or an Equity Tribunal. It has investigated a particular subject; it has sought to find an equitable solution, and it has made recommendations to the legislature.

Why should not a similar procedure be invoked in the international sphere? Why should not Commissions be appointed to prepare the ground for legislation by a United Nations Assembly? No doubt objections will be raised by governments and their departments, by politicians and even by some members of national parliaments to the drafting of any code or its submission to the legislative organ of the Authority for incorporation in the International Statute Book, because they will realise that any powers conferred upon the new Authority will curtail the sovereign rights they have hitherto exercised, often to the detriment and at the expense of the peoples they represented. It is to be hoped, however, that public opinion, representing the general interest, will be strong enough to over-ride the objections of the vested interests, and that in any case, as a result of this attempt to secure supra-national legislation by recourse to reason instead of to force, a maximum measure of agreement may be reached and a common denominator may be found. Let us assume that a code, however elementary, has been endorsed by the representatives of the

states members of the Authority. This at least will be a beginning. It must, however, be a code which all are pledged to support and, if necessary, to enforce.

In the words of that distinguished historian, Sir John Seeley, "There has been found hitherto but one substitute for war. It has succeeded over and over again ; it succeeds regularly in the long run wherever it can be introduced. This is to take the disputed question out of the hands of the disputants, to refer it to a third party whose intelligence, impartiality and diligence have been secured, and to impose his decision upon the parties with overwhelming force. The last step in this process, the power of enforcing the decision by the federal union only, is just as essential as the earlier ones, and if you omit it you may just as well omit them too."



## CHAPTER 4

### THE PILLAR OF JUSTICE (*continued*)

#### *Supreme Court of Justice*

In the preceding chapter we have reached the stage when a World Magna Charta, incorporating the rights and duties of nations based upon agreed principles governing their international relationships, has been sponsored and endorsed by the United Nations. We have also proposed that steps should be taken to constitute an embryonic code of law. Then the question arises how this code is to be interpreted and administered. It is clear that these functions can only be exercised by a juridical body, a Court of Justice composed of the highest legal authorities, whose duty it will be to interpret the Inter-State Law embodied in the code, and apply it to all cases coming within its jurisdiction. These are the functions of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague, and in the United States of the Supreme Court. Precisely the same functions would be exercised by a World Supreme Court of Justice acting as the judicial organ of the Authority.

#### *Case Law*

It follows that in course of time the code of international law will be extended and consolidated by a body of Case Law, which will gradually be built upon the precedents arising from the decisions and judgments of the World Supreme Court. Case Law has played an important role in the development of national jurisprudence, and there is every reason to suppose that it will be able to perform the same function in building up an international code.

#### *The Legislative Function*

The further question arises, how is the code to be amended or extended from time to time to meet new conditions and the changing needs of the international community? In other words, how is the dynamic principle in international



relationships to assert itself through a peaceful instead of a violent procedure? Clearly this result can be achieved by the legislative organ of the Authority. For instance, it might be agreed that resolutions or measures dealing with subjects coming within the jurisdiction or powers conferred upon the Authority, and which were supported by say a two-thirds or three-fourths majority of an Assembly or Parliament of the United Nations, should be inscribed in the International Statute Book, and included in the code of law. Here then are two international institutions—a Court and a Legislature—which should be regarded as indispensable sections of the Pillar of Justice.

### *A Federal Parliament of Man*

How is this Assembly or Parliament to be constituted? In the first place it might be composed of representatives directly elected by the peoples of the member states, in which case it would be a Federal Parliament, not a Confederate Legislature. For reasons advanced in the chapter on the Pillar of Federalism, it is difficult to contemplate the creation of what Tennyson described as the Parliament of Man in the present condition of the world, because representation on the basis of population would confer an overwhelming majority of votes upon peoples and countries who have never practised the system of democracy in their domestic affairs. Consequently they are unaccustomed to the working of democratic and representative institutions, and therefore they could not be expected to participate at this juncture in establishing a Parliament of Man.

### *Composition of Confederate Assembly*

It follows that if a Federal Parliament is impractical in the present stage of world political development, it will be necessary to fall back upon a Confederate Legislature or Assembly, which may be constituted in one of at least two ways.

### *Government Nominees*

In the first place it might be composed of representatives of the states members—the nominees of their Foreign Offices.

This was the method adopted by the League of Nations in constituting its Assembly which met once a year at Geneva. Although President Wilson had declared that it must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments, when its constitution was finally agreed upon it emerged as a League of governments. Each state member was entitled to send three representatives and their substitutes, and each national delegation was entitled to one vote. But, with certain exceptions dealing with procedure, Article 5 of the Covenant provided that the proceedings of the Assembly should be governed by the rule of unanimity. Unless the representatives of all the states members were unanimous, little progress could be achieved. Moreover, even the resolutions passed unanimously had subsequently to be endorsed by the governments of the national sovereign states. In reality the League Assembly was a deliberative, not a legislative, body. It could discuss and debate, it could frame rules and draft treaties, but it could not enact laws for three reasons : first, because its resolutions had to be endorsed by the national governments of its states members ; secondly, because its administrative machinery was defective and, in many cases, could only operate through the national governments ; and, thirdly, because there was no organised system of sanctions to ensure that its resolutions and decisions would be upheld. Under these conditions, is it surprising that this attempt to safeguard the peace of the world came to grief ?

### *Representatives of National Parliaments*

In the second place the Confederate Legislature might be composed of representatives elected by the national parliaments of the states members of the United Nations.

For more than fifty years there has been in existence an unofficial organisation known as the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Its membership is purely voluntary, and is composed of groups of Members of Parliament in different countries who have joined the Union. Before the war, annual conferences were held at which political questions of common

interest were discussed, and resolutions passed. Afterwards these resolutions were forwarded to the national governments of the countries represented at the conference. It is suggested that, subject to certain important modifications, the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference should be regarded as the pattern and fore-runner of a constitutional body which would be an integral part of the United Nations Authority. Then what is at present a voluntary institution would be converted into an official International Assembly, to which each national parliament would elect its representatives. It would therefore appear that in constituting the legislative organ of the Authority the choice lies between the method adopted by the League, namely, an Assembly consisting of nominees appointed by the national governments, or a body composed of representatives directly elected by the national parliaments.

### *Implications*

No doubt there is something to be said for both these alternatives. The governments of state members are responsible to their respective Parliaments for their policies. Consequently there may be advantages in a system which enables a government to expound its policy to the Assembly through its nominees and to endorse it by a solid vote. But in the past this arrangement helped to increase the power of Foreign Offices everywhere, and in pre-war days the members of each national delegation arrived at the Assembly with the instructions of their governments in their pockets. It is interesting to note that at the meeting of the first Assembly one of the British delegates, the late Mr. George Barnes, M.P., an ex-member of the War Cabinet, delivered a speech in which he asserted his independence and his right to express his own views as a delegate of the British people. "I am here," he said, "in a special sense to voice the view of the working masses in Great Britain." It is significant that although he was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles and a founder of the International Labour Office, he was never nominated again by the British Government



as a delegate to the League Assembly. This method of representation also played into the hands of reactionary governments who happened to be in office when the Assembly met at Geneva. For instance, during the Manchurian dispute a spineless administration with Sir John Simon as its Foreign Secretary helped to drive the first nail into the coffin of the League. A few years later, during the Abyssinian crisis, a French government with Laval as its Foreign Minister repudiated its responsibility under the Covenant and sabotaged the League. In both these cases it is doubtful whether the British and French governments really represented the views of the majority of their peoples.

Moreover, representation by Government nominees emphasised the fact that the primary concern of each delegation was to support what it rightly or wrongly considered to be the national interest of the state member, and on occasion the partisan interest of the party in office at that particular moment. The general interest of the world community—represented by the Authority—was either repudiated or allowed to go by default.

On the other hand, had the members of the delegations been elected by the national parliaments, they would have been free to express their individual opinions and the views of their parties, and to register their votes accordingly. Unlike government nominees they would not have been merely the mouthpieces of a Foreign Office. Consequently they might not all have been willing to support the policy of their government and the party which happened to be in office at that time. The result would have been that the votes of a delegation might have been split up—some members voting for, others against, a particular proposal. And if we regard the British Commonwealth as a political entity, that is what actually happened at Geneva when occasionally the representatives of Great Britain and the Dominions found themselves in different lobbies. The British Commonwealth did not always speak with one voice. Then why should a parliamentary delegation always be expected to do so if its members entertain different views

regarding the merits of any proposal? National parliaments are usually composed of a number of parties holding different political opinions and pursuing divergent policies.

It follows that if the public opinion of a country is to find its true expression in the International Assembly, these parties should be represented. This result could be achieved by applying the system of proportional representation in order to ensure that all shades of public opinion shall find expression in the International Legislature. Furthermore, such an arrangement would tend to promote a spirit of esprit de corps in the Assembly. It is reasonable to suppose that the members of Parliamentary delegations would be more likely to consider resolutions from an objective rather than from a purely nationalistic or partisan standpoint, and to vote for or against a resolution or proposal on its merits. Moreover, such an Assembly, in its deliberative capacity, would become a much more reliable sounding board of world opinion because the views of the parties or groups in each national parliament would be able to find free expression. From the practical standpoint such a body would be the nearest approach to the Parliament of Man, under post-war conditions. It would in effect be a halfway house between a federal parliament directly elected by the peoples and a confederate assembly consisting solely of nominees of the governments of states members. There is the further consideration that those members of the United Nations parliaments who had taken part in these international debates would be able to speak with far greater knowledge and experience if and when the resolutions passed by the Assembly came up for discussion and ratification in the national parliaments.

### *Democratic Control*

And let us not forget that an Assembly of government nominees has already been tried at Geneva during the last twenty years, and has been found wanting. Its ineffectiveness was one of the contributory causes which helped to bring about the failure of the League. Nor could it be

described as an outstanding democratic achievement. Democracy implies peoples, parliaments and governments. The electorates control the parliaments, and the parliaments control the governments. Such at any rate is the theory. If the time has not yet arrived when all the peoples of the United Nations can be merged into a single electorate, if democracy cannot leap all the frontiers through the formation of a Federal World Parliament, then it would appear that the creation of an International Legislature, which is able to establish the rule of law and to uphold it, must be based upon the direct collaboration of national parliaments, not merely of state governments. Such an arrangement would bring the representatives of the peoples into direct touch with each other, and with all those problems included under the description of Foreign Policy.

It may be true that even this arrangement will not rid us entirely of the fetish of national sovereignty. It should, however, tend to weaken and modify the sovereign powers now exercised almost exclusively by the governments on behalf of their respective countries. It will be the nearest approach to and the most practical method of applying the principle of democratic control in the sphere of international relationships. It follows that if we desire to curtail the powers of national sovereign states and to limit the opportunities and scope of secret diplomacy, we shall support the establishment of a joint parliamentary body. Governments would then find it difficult to veto or oppose decisions reached by a two-thirds or three-fourths majority vote in the Confederate Assembly.

### *Two Objections*

There are, however, two objections which will, no doubt, be urged against an Assembly composed of representatives elected by national parliaments. First, it will be said that these delegations would be merely groups of irresponsible persons. It is clear, however, that this would not be the case, because they would be responsible to the Parliamentary bodies which elected them. The second objection is that



when the delegations return to their respective countries they would be unable to execute the decisions reached by the Assembly because they represent the national legislatures, not the executives.

### *Execution*

It is true that in some cases, such for instance as the imposition of diplomatic, financial and economic sanctions, where the Council of the Authority does not possess or directly control the executive machinery, only the governments of states members, the national executives, would be able to implement the decisions of the Assembly. But when the Authority, employing the powers conferred upon it by the Confederate constitution and acting through its Assembly, had reached a decision by the requisite majority, it would become the duty and responsibility of every government to accept and execute it loyally. Under the Articles of Association, acceptance would be a paramount obligation on the part of all states members. Consequently, a government might be called upon to implement a decision, even though its Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary—representing its executive—may have opposed and voted against it in the Assembly. In these circumstances, should it refuse to be bound by the two-thirds or three-fourths majority decision, it would have violated its solemn pledges and its covenanted obligations. Henceforth, it would cease to be a member of Authority.

### *Composition Not Deciding Factor*

It should be borne in mind, however, that the same dilemma may arise whether the Assembly is composed of parliamentary representatives or government nominees. The composition of the legislature is not the determining factor. On the contrary, the crucial question is the willingness of a government to accept a decision of the Assembly in the exercise of its mandatory powers and supported by the requisite and constitutional majority. Once this principle has been accepted and incorporated in the constitution of the Authority, the composition of the Assembly—parliamentarians or

nominees—has little or no bearing upon the executive functions which, insofar as they cannot be exercised by the Authority itself, would devolve upon the governments of the states members.

### *Acceptance*

Furthermore, there does not appear to be any insuperable reason why this obligation should not be accepted. It is an unwritten rule in the conduct of political affairs in Britain and in most democratic countries that when, it may be after prolonged controversy and opposition, a law is passed and is inscribed on the Statute Book, that particular issue is regarded as settled for the time being. Subsequently, the political party which had strenuously opposed the passing of the Act may come into power. It does not, however, refuse to administer the law and carry out its provisions. On the contrary, it accepts the decisions reached by a constitutional procedure, and executes them. Similarly, in the international sphere a government may find itself in a minority in the Assembly, but may subsequently be called upon to implement a decision which at the outset it had actively opposed. In these circumstances, when it bows to the will of the majority and honours its obligations under the Confederate Constitution, it will only be conforming to a general principle which it has already recognised and accepted in the conduct of its internal affairs.

### *Voting Power*

But whatever may be the composition of the legislative organ of the Authority, whether it is representative of national parliaments or of national governments, its powers must be much greater and its functions far wider than those conferred upon the Assembly of the League. As an integral part of the Pillar of Justice, the legislative organ of the Authority must secure and retain the confidence and support of its states members. To do this it must be capable of effecting peaceful changes in the relationships of nations and of developing the code of international law. It must also be empowered to finance, maintain and control its

organic international police force and, should the necessity arise, to set in motion its organised system of sanctions without a moment's delay. Such powers imply the cancellation of the rule of unanimity which in the past has hamstrung the activities of the League and reduced its Assembly to a mere talking-shop. But if the procedure of the unanimous vote is to be superseded by a majority vote, it will also be necessary to assess the relative voting power to be accorded to each of the states members represented in the Assembly.

### *Principle of Equality.*

This was one of the obstacles which the framers of the Covenant were unable to surmount and which compelled them to fall back upon the rule of unanimity. Here we find ourselves between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand there is the principle of equality and on the other the democratic principle of popular representation. But the Great Powers, with populations running into tens and hundreds of millions, cannot be expected to agree to equality of voting power with the smaller nations whose electorates do not exceed a few million inhabitants. It would be absurd to suggest that Panama, Albania or Luxembourg, for example, should be accorded the same voting power as the United States, Russia or France. Clearly such an arrangement would be contrary to the principles of democracy. The status of equality will be expressed in the principle of equality in the sight of the law, which means that in any dispute great and small states would appear before the bar of justice on a basis of equality.

### *Population Basis*

On the other hand, there is the democratic principle of representation on the basis of population. But if voting power is assessed solely on this basis, the Western communities would be completely swamped by Asiatic countries, whilst the smaller powers would have very little say in the affairs of mankind.



*The Barème Formula*

Our problem is therefore to try and discover another method—a fair and reasonable basis upon which voting power can be assessed and one which will confer upon each national community the relative influence it is entitled to wield in the council chamber of the world. It is suggested that such a basis is the measure of support, namely the contribution, made by each state member towards the maintenance of the International Authority. We are indebted to the League of Nations for having elaborated a scheme which enabled it to calculate these contributions upon a fair and equitable basis. Under this scheme, devised by a Committee of expert economists and adopted by the Fourth Committee in 1925, the national wealth of each country can be computed. It is known as the “barème” formula. It expresses the principle of equality of sacrifice or ability to pay in terms of annual contributions to the International Authority. In other words, it represents the premiums to be paid on the insurable assets of each contributory state. The relative values of these assets may vary over long periods, and consequently the premiums may require to be re-adjusted accordingly from time to time. The “barème” formula is not an imaginary standard of measurement. It has already been agreed to by over fifty nations and was regularly applied in determining the annual contributions of states members to the common fund which provided for the maintenance of the League. The argument for the adoption of the “barème” formula as a basis for the assessment of voting power in a Confederate Assembly may be summarised as follows :—

*Sacrifice*

First, it measured the sacrifice which each state member made before the war towards an institution which was intended to be the custodian of Justice and Peace. In future these contributions will be increased considerably when an organised system of sanctions, including an international police force, has come into existence, and the maintenance

charges have been included in the budget of the Authority. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that legislative, administrative and executive responsibility should bear some relation to the degree of sacrifice. It is also clear that the more powerful states in surrendering the rights of national sovereignty—the right to impose their will by force of arms—will make greater sacrifices, relatively, by handing over their weapons—for example, their air forces—to the Authority than the smaller states participating in the scheme. Consequently, the former will be entitled to a larger measure of responsibility and voting power.

### *Population*

Secondly, as the “barème” has been designed to express the taxable capacity of a state member, the size of its population is one of the ingredients which enters into the calculation. Assuming that other factors are equal, a large population will be reflected in the monetary contribution of the state member.

### *Wealth and Culture*

Thirdly, the “barème” furnishes a rough and ready guide, imperfect it is true, to the varying degrees of culture and civilisation attained by states members. It cannot be regarded as an infallible index, but nevertheless, in default of a better test, it broadly represents the measurement of national progress. This formula has been designed to assess the factor of material prosperity, but it is fair to assume that the possession of national wealth indicates a standard of living conducive to all-round progress and the development of educational and cultural institutions which fit a states member to undertake its appropriate share of legislative and executive responsibility.

### *Ability to Govern*

Fourthly, this formula has a bearing upon the qualifications of ability to govern. If a state member is seized with a fit of anarchy, and becomes the prey of its factions, it will probably cease for a time to pay its premiums to the inter-



national insurance fund. For instance, the chaotic conditions existing in some countries before the war were reflected in the complete suspension of the working of the "barème" so far as those states members of the League were concerned. Moreover, any country which is unable to maintain law and order within its own frontiers is incapable of playing its part as a state member of an International Authority.

### *Allocation of Votes*

For these reasons it would appear that the "barème" formula offers a satisfactory basis for the assessment of voting power in a Confederate Assembly and for its distribution amongst the states members of the Authority. It follows that the quota of delegates, whether government nominees or the representatives of national parliaments, would correspond to the number of votes allocated to states members. Each delegate would be entitled to one vote. The nominees would probably vote collectively—a bloc vote—whilst the parliamentarians would vote individually—a split vote. Here then is a plan which will enable the Confederate Legislature not merely to pass pious resolutions but to reach decisions by a majority vote.

### *Powers of Authority*

We have now reached a stage in the erection of the Pillar of Justice when we are confronted by this vital question. What are the minimum powers we propose to confer upon the United Nations Authority and its legislative organ—the Assembly? In other words, we have to consider the nature and extent of the functions hitherto exercised by the national governments which it is intended to transfer to a supra-national Authority. In the past Federal and Confederate constitutions have usually been created by defining the powers to be vested in the Federal or Confederate Authority, leaving all other powers and functions not specifically mentioned to be exercised by the state or national governments. The Federal Constitution of the U.S.A. is the classic example. It is clear that in order to define this



division of powers it will be necessary to draft a written Constitution. Consequently it is suggested that the powers to be conferred upon the Confederate Authority should be enumerated in a Pact or Covenant to which all the members of the United Nations would become signatories.

### *Mandatory Powers*

These powers fall under two main headings—those which are mandatory and compulsory, and those which are permissive and non-compulsory. Under the first heading are included the following functions and responsibilities to be delegated to the Confederate Authority by its states members :

- (a) The settlement of all political and juridical disputes arising between states members or between states members and non-members.
- (b) All questions affecting the administration of the code of law and the maintenance of the Supreme Court of Justice.
- (c) All questions relating to the organisation of diplomatic, economic and military sanctions, including the administration of an International Police Force and the control of military and civil aviation.

In the exercise of these powers through the appropriate organs, the decisions of the Authority would be compulsory. They would be binding upon all the states members and would become part and parcel of the public law. Moreover, the resolutions, regulations and statutes passed by a two-thirds or three-fourths majority of the Assembly would not require to be ratified by the national governments or parliaments, and would be incorporated forthwith in the International Statute Book. It will be observed that the powers suggested are minimum powers which must be exercised by the Authority if it is charged with the responsibility of administering justice and preventing war. They are essential, because if they are not included as integral sections of the Pillar of Justice, the whole structure of the Temple of Peace will be endangered. Clearly it is impossible to imagine any

stable or enduring form of supra-national government if these elementary and rudimentary powers are excluded from its constitution.

### *Non-Compulsory Powers*

Under the second heading of non-obligatory or non-compulsory powers of legislation are included all other subjects of common concern, and it would be for the Assembly to decide what matters come within this category. It follows that, in addition to its mandatory or compulsory powers, the Confederate Assembly would be charged with the duty of initiating and concerting measures for dealing with economic problems such as the rehabilitation of devastated countries, immigration, the development of communications, a common currency, the administration of non-self-governing colonial territories, and other questions of common interest. Moreover, it would be the responsibility of the Assembly to constitute Commissions of Enquiry to investigate these and cognate subjects and to consider the reports and recommendations of these bodies. But in order to safeguard the principle of voluntary assent, to permit the gradual growth of world consciousness, and to protect the interests of minorities, resolutions and proposals adopted by the Assembly dealing with these subjects would not be mandatory or compulsory, and could not be embodied as part of the public law until they had been ratified by all the governments of the states members.

Up to a point this is the procedure laid down in the Covenant. It is also exemplified in the practice of the I.L.O. But unlike the League Assembly, the Confederate Legislature of the United Nations would not be bound by the rule of unanimity. On the contrary, its resolutions and pacts might be endorsed by a two-thirds or three-fourths majority. But in the case of non-obligatory or non-compulsory legislation its decisions would only become operative within the territories of those states members whose governments had voluntarily accepted and ratified them. That is the essential difference between the mandatory powers on the

one hand, and the permissive powers on the other, which it is proposed that the states members should confer upon the Authority.

### *An Example*

Let us take, for example, the question of a common or universal currency. A resolution or pact might be introduced and passed by the requisite majority in the Confederate Assembly. But the governments of a number of states members might object to its provisions, in which case they would refuse to ratify the pact or treaty. Such a refusal, however, need not prevent the majority from accepting the proposal and putting it into operation within the limits of their own jurisdictions. The probability is that after a few years the objectors would fall into line, and when all were agreed the pact would then become an integral part of the code of law. The point to be emphasised, however, is that the states members who object should not be forced to accept proposals which come under the non-compulsory or permissive provisions of the Confederate Constitution. It will therefore be necessary to draw a clear distinction between the compulsory or statutory powers conferred upon the Assembly and its contingent powers of initiation, both of which should be defined in the new covenant of the United Nations. Here then are three functions—the peaceful settlement of all disputes, mutual defence, and non-compulsory legislation, which can be exercised by a Confederate Assembly and should be regarded as essential materials in the construction of the Pillar of Justice.

### *Equity Tribunal*

No doubt the Assembly will be confronted by many difficult tasks and intricate problems. Its members, representing the points of view and interests of the national communities, will be better able to discharge their functions and discover the right solutions if they are able to invoke the assistance of a disinterested body or bodies which are prepared to undertake the duty of investigating specific



cases and reporting their findings to the Assembly. As we have seen, an Equity Tribunal or Commission can play a useful role in the preparatory stages of legislation. Its services can also be employed in the settlement of political disputes when the procedure of negotiation and conciliation has ended in a deadlock. Should the Assembly be confronted by an acute situation or controversy between two or more states members, it can summon to its assistance a body of impartial and experienced persons who are prepared to place their services at its disposal, to hear all the evidence and undertake a thorough investigation of the dispute. In the performance of this task it will act in an advisory capacity. It will report its conclusions to the Confederate legislature, which in turn will accept, modify or reject its recommendations. An Equity Tribunal is therefore an appendage of the Assembly. Its functions are to investigate and report. It is called into being by and receives its instructions from the Legislature. It is part and parcel of the legislative machinery of the Confederation. Consequently, it cannot be regarded as a department of the judicial organ of the Authority—the Supreme Court of Justice—because its functions are exploratory and advisory, not judicial. Unlike a Supreme Court of Justice, the Tribunal need not necessarily be composed of lawyers and judges. Its duty will be, not to interpret and apply the law or to promulgate legal decisions, but, after the fullest investigation, to recommend what, in its opinion, is a just, fair and reasonable settlement of a political quarrel or dispute which does not come within the competence and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Clearly, in any embryonic state of human society, possessing an extremely limited and elementary code of law, a new and inexperienced Assembly and a widely scattered electorate, this is a most important function. It can be discharged by a body of disinterested individuals, described in the Geneva Protocol of 1924 as “persons who by their nationality, their personal character and their experience appear to it”—the Assembly of the League—“to furnish the highest

guarantees of competence and impartiality.” Like the judges of the Permanent Court, they would be selected in their individual capacities, not as the representatives of any government or parliament ; they would not act under the instruction of any Foreign Office. During the term of their appointment they would, like the members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, devote their time exclusively to the service of the Authority, relinquishing any posts or offices they may hold in their respective countries.

The Tribunal would function in all those cases which are outside the purview or scope of the laws or statutes incorporated in the code, and in dealing with them it would apply the general principles embodied in the World Charter of the rights and duties of nations, which it is assumed would already have been endorsed by the states members of the Authority. Where the issues involved are not covered by any agreed principle, the Tribunal would report upon the merits of the case. This means that in all non-juridical disputes there would be a recourse to equity administered by the Assembly with the assistance of a Tribunal. Equity, as we have seen, is included in our definition of justice in its widest sense. By this means it will be possible to close the gaps in the statute law and to ensure that all political—as distinct from juridical—disputes can be settled by an appeal to reason and the moral sense.

### *Functions of Equity*

It will be remembered that Equity has played an important role in building up the imposing fabric of law in Britain. Centuries ago, when parliamentary institutions were being slowly developed and the output of laws was extremely meagre, the department of Equity under the Lord Chancellor was entrusted with the duty of ensuring that the absence of laws from the statute book did not frustrate the administration of justice. But as the legislative powers of parliament and the scope of its activities increased, so the need for equity decisions and tribunals diminished. Similarly in the international community, the Confederate Authority

or instrument of government, however it may be constituted, will be compelled for a long time to pass through the embryonic and rudimentary stages of development. During this period its task will be simplified and facilitated if its legislative organ—the Assembly—is reinforced by the existence of an Equity Tribunal or Tribunals. Moreover, it will be remembered that under the British Constitution, Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament adjudicate upon disputes between local authorities and between corporations such as railway companies and public utility undertakings. These Committees, composed of impartial and disinterested members, after carefully investigating all the issues involved, recommend to their respective Houses what they consider to be a fair and equitable settlement. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a similar procedure will produce satisfactory results when it is applied in the sphere of international relationships.

#### *Lytton Commission*

During the existence of the League, the only outstanding example of the working of an Equity Tribunal in disputes between nations was the Lytton Commission, which was appointed by the Assembly of the League in 1931 to investigate and report upon the dispute between Japan and China following the invasion of Manchuria. Its recommendations were unanimously adopted by the Assembly. This procedure failed to prevent war, not because it was unsound, but because it was not implemented by an organised system of sanctions to uphold the decisions of the international authority. Consequently, as we shall see, this system involves the erection of another indispensable pillar in the Temple of Peace—the Pillar of Collective Force.

#### *The Executive*

Lastly, there will be no certainty that justice will be impartially administered unless the Authority is charged with executive responsibilities. Many years ago, Chief Justice John Marshall of the United States Supreme Court declared that “the legislature makes, the executive executes



and the judiciary construes the law.” We have enumerated the legislative and judicial powers which must be conferred upon the United Nations Authority if it is to exercise the functions of government. We have also suggested the institutions—a Confederate Legislature and a Supreme Court—through which these powers can be exercised. There remains the creation of an Executive to ensure that the law becomes operative, and that the mandatory decisions of the Authority are executed. The pillar of Justice will be incomplete and ineffective unless we include an executive body to administer the powers assigned to the Authority. It is clear that the legislative organ—the Assembly—will be unable to carry out its duties and obligations to the peoples of the world unless it is equipped with an Executive, directly responsible to it, for the administration of its affairs. It will therefore be necessary for the Assembly to create a Council or Cabinet which will become the executive organ of the Authority. Consequently, when it meets, one of the first things the Assembly will have to do is to appoint its Executive.

### *Council*

How is this body to be constituted? The Assembly may decide to elect the required number from amongst its own members, whether they are representatives of national parliaments or nominees of the governments of states members. In either case the persons elected would resign their seats in the national parliaments or relinquish any appointments they may hold in their own countries, in order to devote themselves exclusively, like the Secretariat of the League, to the service of the Authority. Henceforth their only constituency would be the legislature of the Authority, to which they would become directly responsible. On the other hand, the Assembly might prefer to appoint persons outside the membership of its own body. For instance, it might adopt the method employed by the League Assembly for the appointment of judges to the Permanent Court, when a list of candidates was submitted by the governments

of states members. In the event of non-members being appointed, it would be necessary for the Assembly to elect or co-opt them as members of the legislature. Then, as Ministers responsible for the administration of their departments, they would be able to take part in its proceedings and to render an account of their stewardship.

### *Composition*

How is the Council to be composed? It is clear that if it is to administer the affairs of the Authority, its number will depend upon the functions and powers which have been entrusted to the Assembly under the Constitution. As we have seen, these are (a) the peaceful settlement of all disputes, (b) mutual defence and (c) the initiation of non-compulsory legislation. It is therefore suggested that in order to administer these powers, the Authority will require the following executive branches or departments :—

(a) *A Department of Justice* to deal with the routine arrangements of the Supreme Court, including the codification of the public law, prosecutions, etc.

(b) *A Department of Equity* charged with the duty of administering the procedure applicable to disputes outside the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and of making arrangements for the functioning of Equity Tribunals. This department, as we have seen, is an adjunct of the Assembly, not of the Court.

(c) *A Sanctions and Police Department* responsible for the organisation of financial, economic and military sanctions. The Minister in charge of this department might also be the Chairman of the Police Commissioners entrusted with the administration of the organic Police Force.

(d) *A Finance Department* to administer the funds contributed by states members.

(e) *A Department of Civil Aviation*. The Minister at the head of this department might also be the Chairman of a Civil Aviation Board.

(f) *A Department of Co-operation* dealing with non-mandatory or non-compulsory legislation, including economic, health,

education and other sections, and a reconstituted I.L.O. Alternatively, it might be considered advisable to split up the non-mandatory department into two—a *Department of Economics* and another of *Social Services*. The Ministers or heads of all these departments would form the Executive Council of the Authority. In addition, there would be the President or Chairman, so that its membership would consist of about seven or eight Ministers, all of whom would also be members of the Assembly.

### *Collective Responsibility*

These persons might be elected to hold office for a period of say four years, two members retiring annually and being eligible for re-election. Should the Assembly pass a resolution of non-confidence in the Council by the requisite two-thirds or three-fourths majority, all the members of the latter would resign and the Assembly could proceed to elect a new Council. Such a procedure would assert the collective responsibility of the executive organ and ensure that it did not abuse the powers entrusted to it by the Assembly.

### *Government*

This brief outline of the machinery and institutions of a United Nations Authority may be regarded as visionary, Utopian and impracticable by many people, even by those who support the idea of the establishment of an Authority. But if an Authority signifies anything it implies government, and if there is to be government there must be, as John Marshall reminded us, a legislature, an executive and a judiciary. No political organisation which calls itself an Authority or government can dispense with any one of these three organs. They are complementary. It is clear that if the functions of the Assembly are confined to debate and discussion, it will be merely a deliberative body; it will not be a legislature.

In a pamphlet published at the end of the last war General Smuts warned us against this danger. This is what he wrote: "Let the peace be founded in human ideals, in principles of freedom and equality, and in institutions which will for



the future guarantee those principles against wanton assault . . . The new situation does not call for a new talking-shop. We want an instrument of government which, however much talk is put into it at one end, will grind out decisions at the other end."

Moreover, unless the Authority is entrusted with the power to settle all international disputes by a peaceful procedure on the basis of equity and justice, it can never hope to avert a recourse to war, however powerful its sanctions may be at the outset. In course of time the latter will crumble to pieces unless the dynamic principle in human affairs is allowed to assert itself through the medium of a legislative body. Furthermore, if the United Nations Legislature depends exclusively upon the governments of national sovereign states for the execution of its decisions, it will eventually disintegrate and share the fate of the League of Nations. Like a man with both hands tied behind his back, it will revolve in a circle of impotence and disability, culminating in ridicule and repudiation.

#### *Minimum Powers and Functions*

Lastly, if we are to assert democratic principles, the Executive must be responsible to the Legislature, and this will be impossible if executive functions are vested exclusively in the national governments of states members. As we have seen, the mandatory powers it is proposed to confer upon the Assembly of the United Nations Authority are minimum powers. Similarly, the functions allotted to the Council of the Authority are minimum functions. Powers cannot be divorced from functions, nor functions from powers. It follows that the Authority must possess both; otherwise it will fail to preserve the peace of the world, and the United Nations—united in war, disunited in peace—will relapse into isolationism, anarchy and war.

In the words of Rousseau, "Every community without laws and without rulers, every union formed and maintained by nothing better than chance, must inevitably fall into quarrels and dissensions at the first change that comes about."

The events of the last twenty years, culminating in the downfall of the League, have once again demonstrated the truth of this observation. No laws and no rulers ; therefore no government. The rulers of the United Nations have announced their intention of laying the foundations of a lasting peace. But if they propose to establish a new League, or Confederation, or Authority, or International Organisation—the name is relatively unimportant—which does not possess the rudiments of government, the project will be still-born. Moreover, if they stubbornly refuse to endow it with minimum powers and functions, such a proposal will be merely another attempt to throw dust in the eyes of their peoples.

### *The Delusion*

The latter may be told again, as they have so often been told in the past, that the bonds of friendship, cemented by a common interest and the recollection of a common adversity, will be strong enough to prevent a recurrence of war. They may be urged to rely upon sentiment, always a fickle jade, upon moral suasion, the force of public opinion, pacts and treaties, trade agreements, disarmament, and other ephemeral and make-believe forms of security, which deluded so many well-meaning people when the League came into existence after the last war. But looking back over the events of the last quarter of a century it must now be clear to all that, however desirable these things may be, they can never become substitutes for the rule of law in a wicked and lawless world. The history of mankind proves that they can never prevent war. To pretend that pacts of friendship, diplomacy by conference and economic collaboration will be able to usher in an era of lasting peace, as the rulers, supported by many benevolent wishful thinkers, may suggest, is merely to pander to the ignorance and credulity of the masses. Moreover, to assume the impracticability of equipping a supra-national Authority with minimum powers of government, is only to confess our moral cowardice and intellectual bankruptcy. The truth is that we oppose world

government, not because it is unreasonable or impracticable, but because it does not fit in with our preconceived ideas and the legacies of a by-gone age. Such an attitude means that we are prepared to capitulate to nationalism, selfishness, colour prejudice, atavistic tendencies and the vested interests, all of which have contributed in the past to bolster up the national sovereign state, and to plunge the world into one war after another.

### *Anarchy*

In the words of Lord Lothian, "One main cause of war is the national sovereign state." Virulent diseases require drastic remedies. One of these diseases is anarchy. Therefore, instead of deceiving ourselves and our neighbours by suggesting remedies which human experience has found to be incapable of curing this disease, let us at least be honest and admit that a United Nations organisation, shorn of its minimum governmental powers, will be nothing more than a pious aspiration, a façade, a piece of window-dressing. In these circumstances, anarchy—the root cause of war—will remain, and although the peoples may be persuaded by their rulers that everything possible is being done to abolish it, all that will really be attempted is to give the anarchical system of national sovereign states a new cloak of respectability, and if possible to prolong the intervals between wars. On the other hand, if we are determined to destroy this bloody institution, there must be a Supra-national Authority.

### *Conclusion*

To sum up, the materials necessary to construct the Pillar of Justice are, first, the establishment of a United Nations Authority ; secondly, the creation of an Assembly as the legislative organ of the Authority representing all its state members ; thirdly, Commissions to prepare legislative measures for submission to the Assembly, based upon the principles of a World Magna Charta ; fourthly, a World Supreme Court of Justice to administer and interpret the code of law ; fifthly, an Equity Tribunal or Tribunals, to



assist the Assembly in the settlement of political disputes outside the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ; and, lastly, a Council to execute the decisions of the Authority, under the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution. All these institutions are necessary if the concept of justice is to assume its rightful place in the relationships of nations. Moreover, they are essential if the system of anarchy is to be replaced by the rule of law which will guarantee to all nations, strong and weak, great and small, rich and poor alike, a legal status of equality in the sight of the law.

In the seventeenth century William Penn wrote, "Justice is a means of peace ; it prevents strife and at last ends it ; for they, being under government, are constrained to bound their desires and resentment with the satisfaction the law gives. Thus peace is maintained by justice which is a fruit of government."

"A fruit of government" ! Yes, but in a world composed of sovereign states where each nation is the judge in its own quarrel and the punisher of its own wrongs ; where all are obsessed with the game of power politics, there can be no government and, therefore, no justice. It follows that we must boldly face the alternatives—government and justice or anarchy and war. The choice lies with us, the free peoples and democracies. No man or woman can evade or shirk his or her individual responsibility in the decision of this paramount issue—in this matter of life and death—which will decide the fate of future generations. From our honoured dead whose graves lie scattered all over the globe let us take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion. Gratefully remembering their noble self-sacrifice and dauntless courage, let us highly resolve to erect to their memory the Pillar of Justice in the Temple of Peace.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE PILLAR OF FORCE

#### *Definition of Force. Moral Suasion*

The third pillar supporting the Temple of Peace is Force. Force in its widest sense represents the instrument by which individuals and nations seek to impose their wills upon other persons and communities. In its highest form it is expressed in terms of ethics or morality and, as such, is the product of conscience and reason, manifesting itself in discussion and argument no less than in conduct and example. The character of one man may leave an indelible impression upon the lives of thousands of other men, which means that to this extent their actions have conformed to his will. The force of a great example equipped with a moral purpose has been reflected in the actions of individuals and nations, and the most striking instance is to be found in the life and death of Christ.

Religious movements, intellectual crusades, political campaigns and all forms of moral suasion are intended to exert pressure upon the ideas and actions of other people. The force of reason is displayed in debate and literature when, through the medium of speech or the written word, a person or group endeavours to influence the ideas and actions of others. This species of force, however, is clearly distinguishable from other forms because it lacks the element of coercion or compulsion. Every variety of moral suasion implies that individuals or nations are perfectly free to accept or reject the ideas or course of action suggested to them without incurring any direct risk or penalty.

#### *Coercion*

Consequently, the application of force in its usual or narrower sense denotes a coercive act on the part of an individual, group or nation in an attempt to impose their

respective wills upon other persons, groups or nations. This definition, recognised in the realm of municipal law, which relies upon a compelling agency in the form of sanctions to execute the decrees of justice, is the only one which has a bearing upon the enforcement of international law.

### *Economic Pressure*

Coercive force may be applied in various ways. It is not confined to physical violence, the threat and exercise of which place a restraint upon the freedom and actions of individuals and nations. In the economic sphere it is expressed in passive or negative acts intended to exert pressure by producing a state of dislocation, impoverishment and starvation. Such, for instance, are industrial strikes and lock-outs, when combinations of labour or capital endeavour to impose their wills upon each other or even upon the whole community. Internationally, this form of coercion may be applied to a nation through the instrumentality of an economic blockade. Similarly, in the financial relationships between individuals or nations, the element of compulsion is in constant operation, and the power of the purse is a potent factor for good or evil which enters into almost every department of human activity.

### *Physical Violence*

At the bottom of the scale, force manifests itself in acts of physical violence culminating in the disablement, disarmament or death of one of the combatants. In the animal kingdom this species of coercion is the dominating factor of existence and constitutes the sanction of the jungle. It is governed by instinct and passion and is unrestrained by morality or reason.

In the circle of human relationships physical violence operates in divers ways. In civilised communities the degree of violence to which individuals may resort, even in self-defence, is strictly prescribed by law. If the amount of physical force exceeds the degree warranted by the circumstances in any given case, the individual is guilty of a crime and may be punished. The same rule applies to the



democratic State in its relationships with individuals. It may only employ force under certain conditions and subject to certain restrictions. The arm of the law may only strike within the compass of carefully drafted regulations imposed by the community.

### *Anarchy*

In the past force has constituted the governing factor in international relationships, and the power of coercion has usually been the decisive argument in the settlement of disputes. The claims of justice were thrust on one side. National interests alone dictated policy which, in turn, was governed by the amount of force which could be employed. In the international jungle a condition of anarchy still prevails. Morality and reason are completely subjugated to the iron hand of force. Unbridled violence assumes the role of arbitrator and combines the functions of judge, jury and police. Instead of being the servant of the law, it arrogates to itself the office of the law-giver. Masquerading in the garb of legality, it imposes its own rules and regulations under the ridiculous description of "the laws of war."

### *The Purpose*

It will thus be seen that the character of force is determined by the purpose for which it is employed. Divorced from morality and justice and applied blindly and indiscriminately, without restraint, by nations and individuals, it becomes an instrument of tyranny and the scourge of human society. On the other hand, when force is the handmaiden of justice, it becomes the Executor of Right and the Custodian of Peace. As such, it imposes impartially the will of the whole community, as expressed in its laws, upon all its members. In every democratic country morality and reason, upon which the laws are founded, have transformed force into a coercive agency to deter the aggressor and to hold the criminal in awe. Like all other elements in human affairs, it is liable to abuse, but held in the leash of the law, curbed by public opinion and circumscribed by legislative enact-

ments, it provides the security indispensable to the progress of mankind.

### *Force not Immoral*

Regarded from this standpoint, the application of force cannot be described as immoral. Some people condemn the use of physical force in any circumstances. They imagine that crime and aggression will disappear as soon as the coercive agency has been withdrawn. Unfortunately the history of mankind does not substantiate this view. It is a record of the ceaseless struggle between anarchy and order, between justice and force. On the other hand, the experience of centuries demonstrates conclusively that justice cannot become effective without the assistance of force ; though force must always be subservient to the dictates of the law. It is clear that so long as criminal instincts and disorderly impulses manifest themselves in individuals and nations, force will remain an essential factor in the conduct of national and international affairs. But as the moral sense of every community develops, the need for its employment will diminish, and this dictum will equally apply to international relationships when nations are prepared to submit themselves to the rule of law.

### *Police Function*

What, then, is to be regarded as the right use of force ? On behalf of what moral purpose can its services be enlisted ? For centuries it has showered its offerings upon the altar of self-defence. It has carried one brand of civilisation after another to the remotest corners of the globe. It has cast down mighty empires ; it has trampled upon dynasties, religions, constitutions and nationalities. It has blazed the trail of economic development and rescued backward races from the bondage of barbarism. Municipal law has claimed it to provide an efficient sanction, and it is only in this sphere that the employment of force is limited to the police function to deter the aggressor and to enforce the law. Immediately the national frontier is crossed, however, force divests itself of its police uniform. It appears in " shining

armour" completely accoutred with the weapons of war. No longer is force the mainstay of justice. It assumes the role of the renegade law-giver and the relentless aggressor. It has completely changed its character, and henceforward rides rough-shod over every institution, human or Divine. It may well be asked why a frontier line should possess this magic power of transformation. In the cold light of reason it is clear that between nations, as between individuals, force should never be applied except to compel obedience to the law and to restrain the aggressor. The erection of the pillar of justice, involving, as we have seen, the creation of an International Authority equipped with an Assembly, an Executive Council, a Supreme Court of Justice and an Equity Tribunal, will have removed every vestige of excuse for the continued prostitution of force. It cannot be dispensed with; the problem is not how to abolish it, but how to use it solely for righteous ends.

It follows that the element of force organised for coercive purposes in human society can only be morally expressed as a policing agency. Whether it exists in the national or international sphere, it cannot rightly be applied in the performance of any other function.

If this broad definition is accepted, organised force may roughly be divided into three main categories which should express the practical application of the police function in the world as it is to-day. The first consists of those forces engaged in maintaining law and order within the confines of each national state. The second comprises the forces entrusted with the policing and protection of colonies and mandated territories, whilst the third represents the forces assigned to the supra-national authority for the purpose of maintaining international law and order.

### *Sanction of International Law*

Consequently, if we propose to construct the Pillar of Force in the Temple of Peace, we are mainly concerned with the third category, namely, the scientific organisation of force as the sanction of international law. This organisation must



embrace all forms of coercion including diplomatic, financial, economic and military sanctions.

### *The Defaulter*

It must be able to deal not only with the aggressor but also with the recalcitrant or defaulting state. The latter may be defined as a country whose government declines to accept and execute the mandatory decisions of the International Authority expressed through the resolutions of its legislative organ—the Assembly—or the verdicts of the Supreme Court of International Justice.

It is clear that military pressure, exerted as a policing measure, can only be used in the last resort when other forms of coercion have failed. This principle is recognised in the administration of municipal law, because it is only in cases of emergency—rioting and civil disorder—that military forces may be requisitioned to reinforce the municipal police in restoring law and order. Now let us assume that an International Police Force has been created under the direct control of the International Authority. This force will always remain in the background ready to go to the assistance of any state member of the Authority which is being attacked by one of its neighbours. But no one would suggest that a state which refused to accept the decisions of the Confederate Assembly or the verdicts of the Supreme Court should be bombed or invaded by the International Police Force. Clearly this is not one of its functions because policing action is preventive, not punitive. It is the Court that decides what the punishment shall be, and the policeman is only the servant of the Court when he executes its verdict. For instance, he does not attack the defaulter who refuses to pay his fine. The policeman's duty is to arrest him and compel his re-appearance before the Court, which may then order his imprisonment. Similarly, pressure could be brought to bear upon a defaulting or recalcitrant state through the application of diplomatic, financial and economic sanctions.

In the international sphere the imposition of these penalties

would be the equivalent of imprisonment in the national or municipal community. The frontiers would be closed ; trade with all other countries would be cut off ; loans and financial transactions would not be permissible. In other words, the defaulter would be subjected to a social, financial and economic boycott. These measures would, however, be ineffective unless the military sanction had also been organised in advance of the crisis. The existence of an International Police Force would become the guarantee to neighbouring states that if, as a result of their participation in the boycott, they were attacked by the defaulter, the International Authority would immediately come to their assistance. Furthermore, such a Force would ensure the effectiveness of the economic blockade by preventing leakages and closing the avenues of communication and supply.

It will be remembered that it was the absence of an organised and effective Police Force which undermined the confidence and solidarity of the States Members of the League when it imposed economic sanctions upon Italy when Mussolini attacked Abyssinia. This experience proves that economic sanctions alone will never become decisive unless they are supported by the existence of a powerful military Police Force in the background.

### *The Aggressor*

But if, as a result of a blockade, the recalcitrant state attacked one or other of its neighbours, the whole machinery of sanctions would come into play. The International Authority would then despatch its police force without delay to the assistance of the victim of aggression, whilst the other states members mobilised all their available resources to assert the majesty of the law and the solidarity of the Authority. In these circumstances the recalcitrant state is no longer a defaulter. Its character has changed. By resorting to violence, it has now become an aggressor, and as such it will be haled before the bar of justice, when the Authority has compelled its unconditional surrender.

Bearing in mind the distinction between defaulting and

aggressor states, and the varying degrees of coercion which may be applied to assert the supremacy of the law, we can subscribe to the basic principle that the right or moral use of force should be limited to the policing function.

### *Collective Responsibility*

Furthermore, during the gradual development of civilised communities this principle has been reinforced by the principle of collective responsibility. The basis of the social structure in every community is the moral and, indeed, the legal obligation of every citizen to play his part in the suppression of crime and acts of aggression. Centuries ago Solon declared that the best protected city is "the city where all citizens, whether they have suffered injury or not, equally pursue and punish injustice." At a much later period this principle was expressed in the ancient custom of hue and cry, when every able man in the parish was charged with the duty of apprehending the thief or the murderer. Thefts and murders were regarded as crimes against the community, not merely against the person who had been outraged. This universal obligation still exists, and in Great Britain has been incorporated in the Common Law of the land, which lays down the duty of every citizen to assist the arm of the law—the policeman—in the execution of his duty.

### *Collective Responsibility Implies Organisation*

But it became necessary that the collective responsibility should be expressed in terms of an organisation which would be able to act promptly and effectively. And thus it happened that the sheriff and his posse arrived upon the scene, to be followed at a later period by the modern constabularies. These policing institutions became the spearhead of resistance to aggression and crime, and the manifestation of the will of the community to hold the evil-doer in awe, and to compel his appearance before a Court of Justice. The primary task of the sheriff and policeman was preventive; to deter the evil-doer by increasing the chances of his detection and apprehension. Similarly, in the international sphere the existence of a police force is intended to prevent



war, to forestall the aggressor by increasing his risks and decreasing the prospects of successful onslaughts upon his neighbours. It follows that the organised system of sanctions must be powerful enough to compel the appearance of the defaulting or criminal state before the Courts and Tribunals of the Authority, and to enforce their decisions.

It is clear that if the Pillar of Force is to be erected in the Temple of Peace, it must rest upon the foundation of collective responsibility. It is only when the states members of the United Nations Authority are prepared to join in a hue and cry in order to apprehend the aggressor, whoever he may be and wherever he may be found, that an effective system of collective security can be established, and international law can be transformed from a fiction into a reality.

### *The Universal Obligation*

Moreover, collective responsibility, or the universal obligation, implies a collective force. Following the principles and processes which have been evolved in national communities, the universal obligation will become crystallised in the creation of a United Nations Police Force which is intended, not only to restrain those evil-doers who have plunged the world into two bloody wars within a quarter of a century, but also to prevent the members of the new Confederation from falling upon each other, and compel them to settle their disputes through the good offices of a confederate Assembly, or by recourse to a Supreme Court of Justice.

It follows that if at the conclusion of this war the United Nations are able to establish a system of law and order amongst themselves, it will then be possible after a period of probation to extend the universal obligation to the Axis powers. But if, on the other hand, the anarchy of national sovereign states with their competing national armaments is allowed to continue, then when Germany and Japan gradually wriggle out of the restrictions imposed upon them—it may be in ten, twenty or thirty years—as Germany did after the last war, they will claim a status of equality in the

international jungle, and re-arm themselves for the next Armageddon. Nothing short of the complete annihilation of the German and Japanese peoples will prevent them from organising and staging a come-back, unless in the meantime a new world system of collective security has been established. Then, when their season of repentance has been completed, they should be given the choice of accepting the universal obligation on terms of equality with other states members, or of remaining disarmed indefinitely in the category of lawless and uncivilised communities. But unless the United Nations have themselves renounced the system of competing national armaments and the practice of international duelling, they will have no moral right to insist upon the permanent disarmament of the Axis powers.

It follows that if they are determined to eliminate anarchy and war, they must be able to prove to their enemies the feasibility of a new international system which is capable of upholding the rule of law in their mutual relationships. When the United Nations, or a majority of them, have accomplished this feat, they will have earned the right to demand that the ex-enemy peoples shall emulate their example, or remain indefinitely in a state of inferiority and disablement. We have now established two principles ; that the right or moral use of force is limited to the police function, and that this function is a universal obligation.

#### *Centralised Force. Disarmament*

At this point we are reminded of a third principle, namely, that "centralised force tends to eliminate all force, including itself." Unfortunately this truth was never grasped by the peacemakers and pacifists who devoted their time and energies to preaching disarmament after the last war. As a result of their vociferous demands years were spent in trying to discover a formula which, it was hoped, would hasten the millenium. But, even if such a discovery had been made, the resulting disarmament treaty would not have been worth the paper it was written upon, because "there are always the bad men."

For many weary months the Disarmament Conferences held in Washington, London and Geneva, debated this thorny and illusive proposal. But from the start it must have been evident to all those who had given the matter serious consideration, that the mere reduction or lopping-off of national armaments would never prevent war in an anarchic world of national sovereign states. How could this panacea be expected to work miracles in the arena of power politics where justice was non-existent, where no institutions had been created for the peaceful settlement of all disputes and where, in the last resort, the very existence of every nation depended upon its military preparedness, its armaments and its alliances with other states—which might be honoured or repudiated?

In these circumstances, the clamour for disarmament—a purely negative proposition—was a confession of moral and mental bankruptcy. The gigantic evils and costly burdens imposed upon every nation were, not armaments, but competitive armaments. The obvious cure was not disarmament, but co-operative armament; in other words, a centralised police force which would tend to eliminate all force, including itself.

### *National Armaments*

It is clear that if after this war the enemy countries are totally and effectively disarmed, and the United Nations are prepared to create a powerful International Police Force under the control of a United Nations Authority, then national forces will tend to diminish as the Authority increases its influence and prestige and a new international mentality begins to assert itself. Moreover, when the states members are convinced that the Authority can and will come to their assistance, and a sense of security has been engendered in their minds, they will then realise that bloated and costly national armaments are an encumbrance. On the one hand they can no longer be employed as instruments of aggression with any hope of success, whilst on the other they will not be the sole means of national defence since the



defence of each will have been merged in the defence of all.

It is true that the dynamic and static impulses of humanity are always in conflict. The former involves changes, the latter security, in the relationships of individuals and nations. It is therefore essential that institutions should be created through which both can function effectively. These institutions are complementary and indispensable. It follows that when changes in international relationships can be brought about by an appeal to reason instead of to violence, and when the evil and mischievous men are restrained by collective and superior force, then the imbecility of maintaining huge national armaments will become apparent to the peoples of the world. Consequently, when these engines of destruction no longer serve any useful purpose in the international arena, they will gradually and automatically diminish.

Thus disarmament will be achieved, not by pious resolutions, prohibitions, treaties, conferences or inspectorates, but only through the recognition of the universal obligation, expressed in terms of a policing agency, financed, controlled and directed by the Confederate Authority.

### *Examples*

Here are a few examples to illustrate this contention. A century and a half ago, before Sir Robert Peel introduced his famous policing Bill constituting the modern constabularies, so great was the crime, lawlessness and insecurity in Great Britain that the majority of citizens slept with blunderbusses or pistols beside their beds, and many owners were compelled to install cannon in their factories in order to repel the attentions of the mob. When, however, the new police force began to function and the sense of fear and apprehension was replaced by a feeling of safety and security, the citizens gradually discarded their defensive weapons. They disarmed themselves, not as a result of any edict or law, but because they realised that blunderbusses, pistols and cannon were of no further use to them, and that henceforth they could rely on the arm of the law for protection against the

aggressive habits of evil men. It was the provision of organised and efficient forces under the centralised control of the government, acting through its local authorities, that brought about general and voluntary disarmament on the part of the citizens, not moral suasion or compulsion on the part of the government.

Furthermore, during the last seventy years we have witnessed a similar phenomenon in the wild and woolly west of North America. In the pioneering days the majority of citizens were accustomed to carry six-shooters in order to protect their lives and property. Gradually, however, with the arrival of the sheriff and the judge, these weapons were no longer considered to be necessary, and were therefore discarded. But until the arm of the law was strong enough to assert itself, it was the rule, not the exception, to carry a revolver.

### *Disarmament of Nations*

And what is true of the disarmament of individuals is also true of the disarmament of nations. About two centuries ago the military forces of England and Scotland were merged under a centralised control. The result was that in course of time both countries disarmed themselves and relied for their security upon a centralised force—the British Army.

Similarly, in Germany during the period after the Napoleonic wars, the armies of the principalities, kingdoms and petty states were gradually fused together until, after the federation of 1871, Bismark succeeded in welding them into a single war machine under a centralised control and administration. Henceforth, this centralisation of force ensured the disarmament of the Germanic principalities and states. The Army of the Reich, under the leadership of Prussia and with the Emperor as its Commander-in-Chief, became responsible for the defence of all the German tribes and kingdoms.

What further need have we of witnesses to prove that centralised force is the indispensable precursor of disarmament and the best guarantee of security?

Similarly, when the United Nations have joined together to establish a centralised control and to pool their military, naval and air resources, then the era of competing national armaments will gradually come to an end.

### *Confidence*

It is, however, essential that the members of the Authority should be convinced that the universal obligation will be honoured. Unless there is the conviction and certainty in their minds that the Authority will act, and that it is fully prepared in advance to exercise its powers, it will forfeit the confidence of its states members. The only way of convincing them is through the creation of a centralised organic force under the direction of the Authority. Then they will be prepared to discard their national armouries, except insofar as these are required to maintain internal order and to provide reinforcements for the international police force. On the other hand, it may well be that when the combative instinct has been restrained and the lure of aggression suppressed, it will then be difficult to induce the states members of the Authority to maintain their military establishments—their armies and navies—at policing strength. This is a danger against which the members of the Authority must always be on their guard.

### *Article 16*

It must now be realised that the fatal weakness of Article 16 of the Covenant was that the Council of the League could only recommend to its members what forces they should employ against the aggressor, and even these recommendations would not be forthcoming until an emergency had arisen. The Council controlled no police force ; it could only advise : it could neither demand nor command. Consequently, because there was no organised system of sanctions and no police force, what was everybody's business was nobody's. The main pre-occupation of the members of the League was to pass the buck and side-step the obligation. The result was that Hitler was allowed to repudiate clause after



clause of the Treaty of Versailles, and within a few years he transformed Germany into a huge armaments factory. The universal obligation went by default, because it had failed to express itself in terms of organisation in advance of the crisis. The governments of the members of the League deluded themselves and their peoples. Many of them, the British Government in particular, refused to arm unilaterally or collectively. For years they monotonously chanted the refrain of collective security, whereas in reality it was a myth and an illusion, because no centralised force existed, expressing their determination to act collectively. They merely drifted until the inevitable blow fell upon them individually and caught them unprepared.

It is therefore idle and absurd to suggest that the events leading up to the war prove that the principle and policy of collective security is unsound, as some of our diehards and reactionaries would still have us believe. On the contrary, the system was never tried, because the International Authority was never equipped with a police force which could have been used promptly and effectively to nip aggression in the bud, and frustrate the designs of the war-monger before he plunged the world into war.

### *Strength of International Police Force*

In the second place, not only does centralised force tend to eliminate other extraneous forces, but also itself. Let us assume that the enemy countries have been totally disarmed, and that the United Nations are prepared to establish a powerful International Police Force under the direct control of the Authority. Then it follows that, as the Authority increases its membership and resources, not only will there be a reduction of the national forces of states members, but also of the Police Force itself. The strength of the Police Force will therefore mainly depend upon the number of those states—and their war potentials—which refuse to join the International Authority and remain outside its membership. Clearly, this Force must be sufficiently powerful to deter any outside state or group of states from attacking a

state member and to enable the Authority to make adequate provision for the defence of all its members.

What is this margin of superiority to be? It will be remembered that before the last war and during the nineteenth century the naval strength of Great Britain, which enabled her to police the seas, was based upon a Two-Power Standard, namely, the combined strength of the next two most powerful navies in the world. It is suggested that in the case of the Authority the strength of its Police Force should be based upon a minimum standard of say three or four to one in comparison with the combined forces of any outside states.

Let us suppose that at the outset some members of the United Nations are unwilling to combine with the majority in constituting a Police Force under the control of the Authority. This decision on the part of a minority does not mean that the project should be abandoned. Someone, perhaps the English-speaking peoples, must blaze the trail. If the majority can muster between them a superiority of force—especially in the air—the forces of the outside nations will provide a standard of measurement for the strength of the International Police Force.

Moreover, as the sole purpose of the Force is to resist aggression and to uphold the public law, it cannot be regarded as a menace to the interests or existence of any non-member.

Consequently, states members of the Authority would always be prepared to welcome the inclusion of non-members when the latter signified their willingness to submit themselves to the rule of law. The door would always be left open. It is fair to assume that in course of time the number of non-member states would tend to decline, and with the admission of each new member the standard strength of the International Police Force would also tend to diminish, because the number of potential aggressors would have decreased. Conversely, should states members secede from the Authority and retrace their footsteps into the inter-

national jungle, the forces at the disposal of the International Authority would have to be increased.

For instance, it will be remembered that in 1926 under the Weimar Republic, Germany joined the League of Nations, but in 1933 under Hitler's dictatorship, this decision was reversed and she shook the dust of Geneva off her feet. From that time onwards it was clear that the Government of the Reich meant mischief, and that sooner or later it would embark upon a policy of aggression. Consequently, if an International Police Force had been in existence, under the control of the League, that was the psychological moment when its strength and armaments would have had to be considerably augmented in order to meet the new menace arising from the defection of Germany and the dispersal, instead of the centralisation, of force.

### *Conclusion*

Furthermore, let us not forget, when we are building the Temple of Peace, the sage advice of Thomas Hobbes : "Covenants without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all. If there be no power erected, or not great enough for our security, every man will, and lawfully may, rely on his own strength and art for caution against all other men." Our problem is therefore how to erect the power "great enough for our security." We have now assembled the materials for the construction of the pillar of Force. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that its foundations should rest upon the three basic principles we have discussed. First, that the right or moral use of force is limited to the policing function ; secondly, that the employment of force as a policing instrument is a universal obligation ; and, thirdly, that force must be centralised under the control of an International or Confederate Authority. If the United Nations are prepared to adopt these principles and to express them in terms of organisation, then we may look forward to an era of lasting peace.



## CHAPTER 6

### THE PILLAR OF FORCE (*continued*)

#### *The Partnership*

In the eighteenth century Immanuel Kant declared : " It is our duty to make use of the mechanism of nature for the realisation of perpetual peace." He also said that the time would come when, in sheer self-defence, man would be forced to organise his resources to secure permanent peace. He pointed out that this consummation would be brought about, not by the moral reformation of man, but through his self-seeking propensities, guided by reason and aided by " the mechanism of nature."

The " self-seeking propensities " have prompted man to delve into the secrets of nature and, by means of discoveries and inventions, he has sought to increase his wealth and prosperity. The application of reason to the mechanism of nature has thus expanded the scope of his creative faculties, and this process has proceeded at an accelerated rate during the last hundred years.

The results of this partnership between the self-seeking propensities and the mechanism of nature, expressed in the application of science to industry, have changed the face of the globe. They have revolutionised the industrial life and economic conditions of almost every country, and their effects have been felt in the remotest parts of the world.

Then, suddenly, within the space of a few years, the cumulative results of this partnership have been diverted from creative into destructive channels. Science, hitherto applied to the arts of peace, has been harnessed to the chariot of war. It is used to destroy the structure it had so laboriously built up and to uproot the means of human existence which it had taken such pains to augment.

Kant foresaw some such catastrophe, for he alluded to " the great graveyard of the human race " which is bound

to be the inevitable result of this transformation of peaceful industries into the satellites of war. "But," he says, "the problem is to learn how this mechanism of nature can be applied to men."

### *The Laboratories*

Two World Wars have constituted the object lessons, and provided the laboratories in which the scientists of all countries tested the efficacy of their destructive agencies on a vast scale. Never before had there been such wonderful opportunities of proving the practicability, or otherwise, of employing their discoveries in the realm of slaughter. Theories and inventions may be produced in peacetime, but their real efficiency in the arena of destruction cannot be gauged until violence is let loose. The discoveries and tests, once accomplished, cannot be relegated to oblivion by any international resolution or fiat. They remain a heritage which this generation will hand down to its successors for weal or woe.

The experiences of two World Wars demonstrate to mankind how the mechanism of nature, guided by the reason and intelligence of man, can be scientifically organised "to bring about the state of peace in which laws have force." Since the days of Kant, science has placed at man's disposal powers which were never even contemplated in his generation, with the result that in the twentieth century mankind is brought face to face with this problem. His prophecy has therefore a peculiar significance in these times, even though he may not have visualised the new weapons arising out of the discoveries of modern science and their application to the conduct of war.

### *Implications*

It is pertinent to enquire whether the nations realise the implications and the issues which are involved. Do they propose to utilise these powerful agents as a means of preserving peace and of providing sanctions against the recurrence of war, or do they still intend to use them for mutually destructive purposes, which in the end are bound

to annihilate civilisation? These are the paramount questions of the twentieth century, and until they have been answered satisfactorily it will be impossible to erect the pillar of force in the Temple of Peace.

### *The Aeroplane*

It will be generally agreed that the most important and far-reaching scientific discovery is the invention of the aeroplane, which has enabled man to achieve the conquest of the air and given him the mastery over a third dimension. But when Wilbur Wright flew his first aeroplane it probably never dawned upon him that this wonderful feat would revolutionise the warfare of the future. No doubt he imagined that the science of aeronautics would be developed solely as a means of travelling and transport, and its future usefulness appeared to be linked up with the activities of peace. He could not have foreseen that the day would come when his aeroplane would be transformed into a species of super-artillery which might be used for bombing great cities, industrial plants and civilian populations with incendiary and high explosive bombs. Thirty-five years ago no one could have predicted the scars which would be inflicted upon London, Liverpool, Coventry and other places, or the wholesale destruction of Berlin, Hamburg, Essen and Cologne, by the squadrons of the air. In the first World War the aeroplane was in its infancy. Its development, though rapid, had not reached the point when it could be regarded as the decisive factor in the struggle. But if the air programme planned by the Allies for the campaign of 1919 had not been cancelled by the Armistice, the intensive bombing of German cities would have proved beyond doubt the efficiency of the air weapon, and demonstrated its capacity to inflict wholesale slaughter and unlimited devastation.

### *The Decisive Factor*

Although after the war many people believed that in future the aeroplane would become the decisive factor in modern warfare there were others, especially in the military and naval services, who still maintained that the potentialities



of the air were grossly exaggerated. Not until World War II had been let loose upon the world was it definitely and conclusively proved that without superiority in the air armies and navies could never hope to win a war. Deprived of air power, the would-be aggressor could never hope to wage a successful war with armies and navies alone, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any state to plunge the world into war.

In the first two years of the war, when the Luftwaffe was in the ascendant, the German armies rolled on from victory to victory. The rate of their advance was, however, regulated by the ability of their air forces to move forward and to establish new aerodromes behind the front line. The main cause which led to the retreat of the Allies in the Balkans and the loss of Crete was the inferiority of their air forces. Pearl Harbour, the sinking of the "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse," the conquest of the Philippines, Malaya and the Islands, were due to the temporary superiority of the Japanese Air Force in the Pacific. Moreover, the victory of the R.A.F. in the Battle of Britain prevented the invasion of these islands.

But as the air resources of the Allies were developed, and the superiority of the Luftwaffe and the Japanese Air Force gradually faded away, the tables were turned and the initiative passed to the Allies, not only in the air but also on land and sea. The destruction of German cities and industries, rapidly decreasing their output of armaments and munitions, was bound sooner or later to end in the defeat of the German armies in the field. It was only a question of time.

Consequently, the experiences of the last four years in every theatre—in Europe, Africa and the Far East—must have convinced even the most conservative military and naval protagonists that the mastery of the third dimension is the decisive factor, and that henceforth armies and navies can only play subsidiary roles in the conduct of war. It is now clear that in future the nation which is supreme in the air will also be able to control the land and the sea.

*Consequences*

It follows that the defensive policy of every country after the war will be centred round its air force, with the result that national air forces will be maintained at the highest degree of strength and efficiency. The range of the bomber and fighter will be still further increased, until no country in the world, whatever its geographical position may be, will be immune from bombing attacks by land-based aircraft. Moreover, the distinction between military and other targets has already worn thin. In the next world war it will disappear entirely because the objective of the belligerents will be to pulverise the economic life of the enemy and destroy the morale of his people by bombing them into surrender. The armies and navies will be employed for mopping up purposes and occupying the ruins when the capitulation of the enemy has been achieved.

It follows that though the havoc in this war has been stupendous, it will be a mere bagatelle in comparison with the devastation and destruction of the next Armageddon. And as nations at intervals compete with each other for the mastery of the air and the resources of mankind become more and more concentrated upon the construction and equipment of gigantic air fleets, Kant's prophecy of "the graveyard of the human race" will become more and more realistic, and the functions of armies and navies will become less and less important.

How can this appalling prospect be prevented? How can our so-called civilisation be restrained from committing suicide? Only by "learning how the mechanism of nature can be applied to men" and how it can be scientifically organised to bring about "the state of peace in which laws have force." Obviously there is no other way, because so long as nations choose to live in a state of anarchy, where each is the judge in its own quarrel and decides for itself what the size of its killing machine is to be, there are bound to be wars, more wars and still more wars.

*The Lesson*

It follows that some kind of International Authority or Government must be established, which is empowered to declare what the law is, to administer and to enforce it. The best and most effective guarantee that the decisions of such an Authority will be upheld is to confer upon it the monopoly of the air. For instance, if during the first ten years of its existence the League of Nations had been equipped with an International Police Force of say 50,000 planes, World War II could have been prevented. Hitler could have been brought to book when he repudiated the Treaty of Versailles and before he had completed his gigantic plan for the re-armament of Germany.

Surely this is one of the lessons which the peoples of the United Nations should have learnt from the events of the last twenty-five years. And why, it may be asked, should they not co-operate to prevent a world war if they can combine to win it? Winston Churchill supplied the answer when, at the end of the last war, he wrote : " At the moment when science had produced weapons destructive of the safety and even the life of whole cities and populations, weapons whose action was restricted by no frontiers and could be warded off neither by fleets nor armies, a new instrument of human government should be created to wield them. Conversely, just as this new instrument was coming into being, the new weapons which it required were ready to its hand." The democracies failed then, and to-day they are paying the price in blood, tears, toil and sweat. Must they fail again?

What do the United Nations intend to do with air power? That is the vital question which concerns all of us. The advent of the aeroplane and the conquest of the air has presented this generation with the opportunity of creating a policing power such as the world has never known before. Moreover, here is a scientific invention which makes it possible to constitute an effective Police Force, without having to accumulate vast resources of man-power and



material under the direct control of the Authority, because, as we have seen, armies and navies will in future play subsidiary roles.

### *The New Policeman*

The aeroplane is ubiquitous and mobile. Its powers of offence and defence, coupled with its speed and relatively low cost, combine to make it a formidable and efficient international policeman. But when it was pitchforked into this world the peoples were totally unprepared for its reception. They did not realise its potentialities either in the sphere of military or civil aviation. The aeroplane was seized and commandeered by the governments of the national sovereign states and added to their national armouries, where it would be used as a weapon in the international duel, not as an instrument for maintaining law and order in the world. Consequently it has been developed into the most destructive weapon ever invented by man.

The peoples—the rank and file—foolishly acquiesced in these arrangements, little dreaming that some day, when bombs rained down upon them from the sky, they would curse the inventors of the aeroplane. They did not realise that the guilt lay heavily upon their shoulders, not upon the inventors, because they had allowed their governments to employ this new product of the mechanism of nature as an instrument of national policy, for the attainment of their selfish aims, instead of converting it into the custodian of peace and the guardian of justice. In other words, they preferred international duelling to a system of international policing.

Will World War II have impressed its lesson upon the mind of the “common man”? Will the experience of the last four years induce him to combine with his neighbours in demanding that henceforth the squadrons of the air shall be merged into an International Air Police Force, whose sole function will be to resist aggression and to uphold the public law?

*Monopoly of Air Power*

When the United Nations have won the war, their peoples will be able, if they so desire, to establish the state of peace in which laws have force. They can accomplish this grand design by conferring the monopoly of air power upon a Confederation or Authority of the United Nations. If such a proposal, revolutionary as it may seem to many people, could be realised, then—just as the introduction of gunpowder enabled Henry VII to establish law and order in England a few centuries ago, so the conquest of the third dimension has made it possible for a United Nations Authority to inaugurate the rule of law in the world in the twentieth century. It will be remembered that during the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth century, the system of feudalism had produced a state of almost complete anarchy in England, culminating in a series of civil wars. Henry discovered the means of putting an end to the aggression and depredations of the barons and their retainers by securing the monopoly of cannon—the King's Ordnance. Armed with this new invention he could destroy, or threaten to destroy, the strongholds of any baron or feudal lord who became a disturber of the King's peace. In other words, the new weapon in the hands of a centralised authority sounded the death-knell of feudalism and anarchy, and made it possible for the King's writ to run from one end of the land to the other.

Similarly in the twentieth century of the Christian era it should be possible, through the application of federalism, to create a Confederation of free peoples who are prepared to pool their air power and dedicate it to establishing the rule of law.

There are, no doubt, many difficulties and obstacles which may appear to be almost insuperable. Probably it was much easier for one person, a King, to annex a new invention in the sixteenth century than it is for a number of national sovereign states to reach an agreement for transferring their air forces to an International Authority in the twentieth century. In the last resort, however, it all depends upon public opinion, namely, the views, convictions and desires

of the common man. In every country he will be confronted by the vested interests—armament firms, aviation companies, etc.—who so often identify themselves with what they proclaim to be the national interest. Governments may also look askance at any proposal which tends to rob them of any part of their sovereignty. They may naturally be opposed to the creation of a supra-national Authority. Consequently, there is the danger that they may prefer to run the risk of new bombing competitions between the national sovereign states, rather than sacrifice the power, authority and prestige they now enjoy as the representatives of these states.

On the other hand, the common folk in every country have nothing to lose and everything to gain by combining to set up such an Authority which, by curbing the ambitions and curtailing the powers not only of their own rulers but of all rulers, will deprive the latter of the opportunities and means of plunging their peoples into war. Hence the necessity for creating those international institutions which are essential for the administration of justice and the maintenance of peace.

### *Air Police Force*

One of these institutions is an Air Police Force, recruited, controlled and financed by a Confederation of the United Nations. At the conclusion of the war, aircraft factories and aerodromes in enemy countries will be dismantled and destroyed; their air forces will be disbanded. Then the moment will arrive when the great decision must be taken. Then a second opportunity will be presented to the United Nations, especially to the democracies, to merge their national air forces into one organic force whose sole function will be to maintain the peace. At the outset, all the gallant airmen who have served in the air establishments of the United Nations, and who by their courage, skill and heroism have rescued civilisation from the barbarism of the Hun and his associates, should be eligible for voluntary enlistment in the International Police.



The administration of this Force could be entrusted to a Board of, say, five Police Commissioners appointed by the Assembly of the Authority or Confederation, in the same way that judges were appointed by the Assembly of the League to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Air ports, aerodromes and strategic bases could be selected and leased or purchased for the exclusive use of the United Nations police. Appropriate arrangements could also be made for the supply of aircraft, weapons and other munitions.

An Air Chief Constable and his staff, comprising representatives of all the United Nations, could be selected and appointed by the Council of the Confederation, upon the recommendation of the Police Commissioners. His tenure of office might be limited to three or five years. The Chief Constable might be assisted by three Deputy Constables, one in command of the bomber section, another of the fighter section, and the third in charge of the auxiliary subsidiary services of the Police Force.\*

The Assembly would be responsible for the policing budget, whilst the Council would be responsible for the actions of the administrative Commissioners and the operational staff. These are some of the implications of an Air Police Force under the direct control of the United Nations Authority.

### *Air Quotas*

It may, however, be suggested that there is no necessity to constitute an organic or centralised force, and that all that is needed is to persuade the governments of the national sovereign states to provide quotas from their national air forces, specially earmarked for policing duties. Such a system, however, means that the control of the air will still remain in the hands of the governments of the national sovereign states. Consequently, when a crisis arises and the services of the quotas are requisitioned by the Authority, the states members who control and finance the quotas

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\* Further details of the organisation of an International Police Force are given in the author's "Problem of the Twentieth Century," Chapter 12. (Ernest Benn, 1930. 21s.)

may shirk their obligations again, as indeed they did in the case of the League of Nations, when Article 16 of the Covenant became a dead letter, although it was intended to provide for military sanctions against an aggressor.

Moreover, as we have seen, such an arrangement would not promote confidence in the minds of the states members of the Confederation that the International Police would be able to act promptly and effectively when their services were needed. Lack of confidence breeds uncertainty, and uncertainty will prompt every country to rely upon its national armaments rather than upon the mutual protection to be afforded by the Authority.

### *Compromise*

It has also been suggested that the members of the Authority should retain part of their air forces under their own control for service with their armies and navies. It may well be that in order to placate public opinion and persuade the peoples that something is really being done to prevent war, the governments of the United Nations may devise a plan which will provide the Authority with a relatively small organic Air Police Force, whilst each state member would be free to maintain a national air force of its own. It may be true that such a plan would be a great advance upon Article 16 of the Covenant, and that the policing principle would have been established. On the other hand, it would be a compromise, and compromises in vital matters of this kind are often disastrous.

### *Division of Air Power*

Moreover, it is clear that such a proposal, involving the division of air power instead of its concentration, would probably be fatal to the success of the whole scheme, because if, alongside the embryonic organisation of a United Nations Air Police Force, national air ministries and forces are retained by the states members, the tendency will always be to increase the importance of the latter at the expense of the Authority. The vested interests represented by the national air departments might after a time resent the

intrusion of the Police Force, and would probably do their best to sabotage it, just as the Foreign Offices were jealous of the League and on more than one occasion helped to undermine its authority, thus preventing its development into a powerful supra-national institution. The same urge, the same tendency, backed by reactionary elements and a nationalistic press, would be bound to operate even to a greater degree in the case of an Air Police Force. Until this new institution is firmly established as a going concern it will become the target for the abuse and venom of the extreme nationalists in every country. It follows that complete concentration of air power and its transference to the United Nations Authority by its states members is the only way to guarantee the durability of the new regime, and to ensure that air power is used exclusively for policing purposes. Any attempt to split up the air power controlled by the United Nations into national air forces and an organic Air Police Force will inevitably jeopardise the existence not only of the latter but of the Authority itself.

### *An Example*

To illustrate this point, it will be remembered that the fatal flaw in the Federal Constitution of the United States in 1789, which was responsible for the Civil War in 1861, was the division of force between the federal authority and the state governments. The former was allowed to recruit and equip a relatively small army, but the states of the Union retained the control of their state militias armed with precisely the same weapons as the Federal Army. When the authority of the Federal government was challenged seventy years later, the strength of the Federal army was totally insufficient to hold in awe the recalcitrant southern States. But if the Federal government had been provided with a preponderant force equipped with superior weapons, there would probably have been no civil war because the temptation to stage a successful revolt would not have existed. It is clear that if in those days Lincoln could have relied upon a monopoly of air power he could have saved his



country from a devastating civil war. Consequently, any proposal for a division of military air power between a Confederation of the United Nations and its states members may imperil the future peace of the world.

### *Strength of Air Police*

It follows that if the peoples, the rank and file, are determined to put an end to aggression and war, they will refuse to take these risks. Consequently, they must endow their supra-national Authority or Confederation with a monopoly of air power. Perhaps at the outset this may not be possible because a minority, swayed by nationalistic or imperialistic proclivities, may refuse to join in this policing undertaking to establish the rule of law. In these circumstances, the Authority must rely upon a superiority of air power. Let us assume that the majority are prepared to pool their air resources and to transform their airmen into international policemen. As we have seen, the strength of this force must be maintained at a standard which will ensure its superiority in comparison with the national air forces of any non-member state or states. And this standard, or margin of superiority, might be fixed at a ratio of, say, three or four to one of all types of military planes. In course of time it is to be hoped that the outside states, realising that the police force had not been organised specifically against them, but solely to prevent aggression from any and every quarter, would reverse their decision by becoming members of the Authority, and it should always be open to them to do so.

### *Civil Aviation*

There remains the future of civil aviation which can be developed in the interest of all sections of every national community, as a means of communication and transportation. Will it be in the general interest that the production, distribution and employment of all planes, civil as well as military, should be under the general control and supervision of the United Nations Authority? In future it is reasonable to suppose that this branch of aviation can be

employed in such a way as to provide speedy transport facilities to the average citizen—to the rank and file—and enable them to visit other countries where they can make personal contacts and broaden the scope of their outlook and education.

The motor car first made its appearance over forty years ago, but a considerable time elapsed before it came within the reach of many sections of the community. The commercial aeroplane may be fraught with similar developments if all the obstacles which have hitherto retarded its progress can be removed.

### *Freedom of the Air*

One of these hindrances is the preposterous claim put forward by the national sovereign states to the exclusive navigation of the air over their territories. It is to be hoped that at the conclusion of this war these claims will be abandoned, and the existence of an Air Police Force will be the best guarantee of the freedom of the air for travelling and commercial purposes. Unfortunately, up till now civil aviation has been regarded primarily as an adjunct of military aviation, and it has been impossible to divorce them. Obviously this will always be the case so long as competitive national air forces are in existence.

### *The Case of Germany*

Furthermore, it will be remembered that at the end of World War I Germany was deprived of her military air establishment, and it was stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles that no new air force should be created. She was, however, allowed to construct and operate civil aircraft and to constitute a formidable fleet of aeroplanes which flew to all parts of the world. This civil air organisation became the nucleus of the Luftwaffe, and provided the starting point, the plant, raw materials, personnel and organisation, from which a military air force could be swiftly developed. It was so designed that it provided the foundation for a powerful war machine whenever the opportunity offered.

*Civil Aviation Board*

It would, therefore, appear from past experience that civil aviation should also come within the purview of the United Nations Authority, in order to prevent its abuse in future, and to ensure that it does not become the stalking-horse of any government or dictator who may scheme to bring about the disintegration and overthrow of the Air Police Force. It is therefore suggested that the Assembly of the United Nations Confederation should constitute a Civil Aviation Board upon which all the states members would be represented. This Board should be composed of disinterested experts who have severed their connection with any national establishment or industrial concern. Like the members of the secretariat of the League, they would devote themselves exclusively to the service of the Authority. They need not be politicians, and they should be entrusted with the responsibility of drafting a code of laws and regulations governing the operation of civil aircraft, for the approval of the Confederate Assembly.

Furthermore, by a system of licensing the Board would be able to exercise a general supervision over the production and distribution of aircraft. It would also be responsible for the provision and supervision of aerodromes in all parts of the world. It would make arrangements for the common user of air ports and repair depots so that they would be available to the civil aircraft of all countries. Lastly, it would have at its disposal an Inspectorate to ensure that the rules and regulations were respected. Such an arrangement would ensure that civil aviation was completely divorced from its military counterpart. Is it too much to suggest that the institutions embodied in these proposals are a cheap price to pay for the prevention of wholesale slaughter and destruction on a still more disastrous scale in the near or distant future? If the present system of anarchy is allowed to continue, that is the penalty which the children or grandchildren of the United Nations will be compelled to pay for the indifference, shortsightedness and criminal stupidity of their parents.



*Military and Naval Forces*

We have seen that the core of the Pillar of Force is an organic Air Police Force, under the direct control of the United Nations Authority. There remain the land and sea forces which, it has been suggested, will in future play a subsidiary role to the squadrons of the air. Under the arrangements described above, there is no reason why each member of the Confederation should not retain the control of its army and navy, subject to an undertaking to provide minimum quotas of military and naval forces when called upon to do so by the Authority. It is clear that without air power, armies and navies cease to be a menace to the peace of the world, and consequently there will be no need for elaborate disarmament regulations and inspectorates, which used to be part of the stock-in-trade of Disarmament Conferences before the war. On the other hand, the land and sea forces cannot be dispensed with. They will still be required for (a) service in their metropolitan areas to reinforce the constabularies in the event of civil disorder, (b) service in Colonial and Mandated territories for the maintenance of law and order, and (c) service under the Authority in conjunction with the Air Police Force to resist aggression and to uphold the public law.

It would be wrong and invidious to suggest what forces should be included in categories (a) and (b). The national governments are the best, if not the only, judges of the military forces they require in support of the constabularies in their metropolitan areas and Colonial territories.

Nor is it suggested that the forces included in the different categories should be placed in water-tight compartments. It is clear that in the event of aggression involving common action it would be the duty and obligation of every state member to place all its resources, military, financial and economic, at the disposal of the Authority. Consequently, the distinction between the categories would tend to disappear.

*Minimum Quotas*

In the first instance, this arrangement involves an under-

taking from each state member to furnish immediately the agreed minimum quota of military and naval forces, whenever it is requested to do so by the Authority. The size of the quotas would depend upon the requirements of the Authority. For the reasons already enumerated, the tendency will be for the states members to reduce their national forces, because in normal times it is unlikely that any nation will be anxious to do more than its fair share in contributing towards the policing power of the Authority. The difficulty will not be to persuade the states members to disarm, but to ensure that they maintain their national forces—armies and navies—up to the required policing strengths.

The absence of any agreed plan on these lines was one of the fatal weaknesses of the League, with the result that the United Nations were caught totally unprepared by the aggressor at the outbreak of the war. Hitler attacked them one by one, and there was no concerted resistance because no plan had been arranged in advance of the crisis. Hence the necessity for insisting that each state member should undertake to provide its appropriate minimum quota.

### *Composite Police Force*

The United Nations Police Force would, then, be a combined force consisting of (1) an organic Air Police Force, administered, financed and directed by the Authority, (2) the quotas of sea and land forces, controlled and financed by the governments of the states members of the Authority.

Consequently, when mobilised the Police Force will be a composite force of all arms. Its spearhead or advance guard will be the Air Police Force, which at a moment's notice would be despatched in support of the naval and land forces of the state member which was being attacked, whilst the national armies and navies of other states members were being mobilised to come to the assistance of the victim of aggression, under the direction of the Authority.

It would be the duty of the Police Commissioners, in co-operation with the defence ministries of the states members, to organise the combined staff in advance in order to co-

ordinate the operations of the national forces with those of the Air Police Force.

### *The Covenant*

It is, therefore, suggested that if the United Nations are prepared to erect the pillar of Force in the Temple of Peace, involving a complete overhaul and reconstruction of their military, naval and air establishments, they should agree upon a transitional period of, say, ten years for the execution of the plan and the completion of the pillar. They should also covenant that during this period they would :—

- (a) Facilitate the voluntary recruitment of the Air Police Force, and suspend recruitment for their national air forces.
- (b) Place their national air forces as supernumerary units at the disposal and under the direction of the Authority.
- (c) Agree to the complete absorption of their national air forces in the Air Police Force at the end of the transitional period.
- (d) Lease aerodromes, airports and strategic points to the Authority for a minimum period of, say, 25 years.
- (e) Make contributions assessed upon an agreed formula—*e.g.*, the *barème*—towards the maintenance of the Air Police Force.
- (f) Provide minimum quotas of land and sea forces when called upon by the Authority to do so.

### *New Weapons*

These, then, are some of the problems which confront the peoples of the United Nations in the difficult task of international reconstruction, and of legislating for the future welfare and happiness of their children. The success or failure of any plan for the prevention of war will mainly depend upon what use is to be made of the products of the partnership between the self-seeking propensities of man and the mechanism of nature.

Will the United Nations be willing to dedicate every new



military invention, every secret weapon and every scientific discovery to the service of justice and peace? At this stage in the history of mankind the crucial question is the role to be allotted to the latest offspring of the partnership—the aeroplane. The air is the key to victory. The air is also the key to peace. When the Axis powers have been defeated and their aircraft factories, aerodromes and air squadrons destroyed, what will the United Nations do with the aeroplane?

### *The Paramount Question*

That is the paramount question which every man, woman and child should ask themselves, because upon the answer the lives, happiness and prosperity of future generations will depend. Western civilisation stands at the cross-roads. It can annex the aeroplane and convert it into the greatest blessing mankind has ever known, or it can allow it to remain in the custody of the national sovereign states, when it will become the greatest curse humanity has ever had to endure. In the end, unless it is transformed into the sword of Justice, and is employed as the instrument for maintaining the rule of law, it will plunge mankind once more into the depths of barbarism and compel him to seek shelter in the bowels of the earth or in the caves of his remote ancestors. It will destroy the Temple of Peace.

## CHAPTER 7

# THE PILLAR OF FREEDOM

### *Hitler's New Order*

The fourth pillar of the Temple of Peace is Freedom. The United Nations are waging this war in defence of their liberties. Their peoples refused to be swallowed up in Hitler's new order, because it would have deprived them not only of their national institutions, but also of their rights as citizens in free and democratic communities.

Freedom implies that individuals, no less than their governments, are immune from external or foreign control, unless such control is exercised by an agency—a Federation or Confederation—in which they participate and to which they have given their voluntary allegiance. But in every occupied country in Europe and the Far East freedom is dead because the aggressors installed themselves or their puppets by force of arms. When they became the rulers of the territories they had over-run, not only did they liquidate the national governments or compel them to seek asylum abroad, but they also destroyed the political liberty and economic freedom of every individual citizen in the populations they had enslaved. They regarded the latter as so many cattle to be driven from one place to another, just as it suited the interests or convenience of the conquerors.

### *Its Permanent Character*

Furthermore, this policy was by no means a temporary one ; it was not merely a war measure. On the contrary, it was intended to be permanent, and if the self-styled master races—Germans and Japanese—had succeeded in winning the war they would never have relaxed their grip upon the conquered countries. The leaders of the enslaved peoples in every walk of life—religious, cultural, economic and political—would have been executed or thrown into con-

centration camps. The treatment already meted out to the Poles—wholesale slaughter and mass deportation—is an object lesson of the cruel fate which awaited the victims of Nazi aggression and tyranny in every country when complete victory was assured. Had Hitler and his henchmen succeeded in breaking the resistance of the United Nations, German garrisons would have been quartered in the cities of Europe from one end to the other. Every industry and factory would have been confiscated and afterwards controlled by the German business machine. The native populations, reduced to the condition of serfs, would have become hewers of wood and drawers of water, ministering to the economic needs of their conquerors. The manufacture of armaments and weapons would have been concentrated exclusively in the Reich. A disarmed, devitalised and cowed Europe would then have remained indefinitely in the grip of the tyrants because the latter would have secured a monopoly of every death-dealing weapon, whilst the armouries of their victims would have ceased to exist.

No wonder, then, that Hitler boasted at the beginning of the war that it would be the last struggle for a thousand years. A German victory meant the end of freedom, a choice between slavery in its crudest form and extinction by execution or starvation. It would have been the death knell not only of national freedom but also of the civic liberties hitherto enjoyed by individuals in all free countries of the world.

### *The Nightmare*

Looking back, we now realise that if the Luftwaffe had won the Battle of Britain or if the Russian armies had been completely destroyed in the campaign of 1941, when the tide of invasion almost reached the walls of Moscow, Hitler's dream of German domination for a thousand years might have been fulfilled. What a nightmare! Europe, from the Urals to the Pyrenees, would have become a fortified German camp; the Mediterranean a German lake; the Atlantic seaboard from Murmansk to Gibraltar patrolled by a new



German navy launched in British shipyards ; Africa and Siberia, Nazi colonies.

In comparison with this mighty Empire, Rome at the zenith of her conquests pales into insignificance. And let us not forget that Rome survived for five centuries during an epoch in the world's history when it was impossible to concentrate power in armaments as it is to-day. But in the twentieth century, in this mechanised age, the nation that controls the production of war weapons holds undisputed sway in the air, on land and sea, over the lives and destinies of the conquered peoples. Moreover, the master race would have been able to retain this supremacy so long as it held together and no other nation on God's earth was strong enough to challenge it. Hitler the supreme War Lord in Europe and Africa, Asia in the clutches of Japan : that is what might have happened, what almost did happen.

### *World Hegemony*

The western hemisphere would then have been wedged in between the upper and nether millstones, with millions of slaves toiling to produce the raw materials and supplies to equip the killing machines of the European and Oriental despots. World hegemony would then have become a practical proposition, not merely an idle dream. In these circumstances, Hitler's boast of a thousand years totalitarian peace—the peace of the graveyard, the cemetery of every freedom—would no longer have been the raving of a madman. On the contrary, it would have become a stern possibility, nay, even a stark probability. In the critical days of 1940 and 1941 the issue remained in doubt, and this picture was not "globaloney." Only the aberrations of the madman ; only the courage of the British people in their darkest hour ; only the guiding hand of an unseen and inscrutable Providence saved the peoples of the world from the fate planned for them by the barbarians.

### *Battle of Britain*

They owe their freedom and national existence to the lads who fought and won the Battle of Britain ; to those

youthful warriors who emulated and surpassed the courage and tenacity displayed by their fathers thirty years ago, when the tide of invasion was rolled back on the banks of the Marne. Let our American friends and Soviet Allies remember that when the fate of civilisation hung in the balance, when the barbarian appeared to be almost invincible, it was Britain that stood in the breach and held the common enemy at bay. It was the British Empire alone that provided a breathing space, whilst the friends of freedom in other parts of the world were beginning to gird their loins for the fray.

### *Battle of Russia*

Then came the Russian ordeal. Hitler no doubt expected to drive his panzer divisions through the Soviet defence like a knife through butter. One swift stroke, one overwhelming blow and the vast resources of Russia—her oil, minerals, granaries and factories—could be exploited by the Reich in the final conflict with the English-speaking peoples. This was the supreme folly, the colossal miscalculation, the paramount mistake which decided the issue of World War II. The Soviet armies were defeated, but they were not destroyed. The Russian people rallied as one man in support of their government and in defence of their country. No sacrifice, no hardship, no loss was too great to quench their ardour or undermine their determination to fight on to the bitter end. Had they collapsed, the cause of freedom might have been doomed. The Battle of Britain was won by the heroism of the few; the Battle of Russia was won by the courage and tenacity of the many. During the most critical stages of the war the Royal Air Force and the Russian armies held the enemy at bay and rescued the liberties of Europe.

### *Freedom Implies Rule of Law*

We are fighting this world war to protect our freedom and to deliver ourselves from the nightmare of German and Japanese domination, which through our own folly and shortsightedness we have so narrowly escaped. Once more we are

engaged in defending our freedom and democratic way of life.

But what sort of "freedom"? What kind of "democracy"? In the first world war we also fought for freedom and to make the world safe for democracy. We won the war. Victory was ours, complete and decisive. We bragged about our new freedom, freedom to live once more under the old system of sovereign states. We forgot that real or true freedom can only be enjoyed under the rule of law. If our security is constantly menaced by the nation which possesses the biggest stick, or the heaviest mailed fist, there can obviously be no real freedom. Moreover, absolute freedom or licence implies the right to attack our neighbours if we think we can derive some advantage from doing so. That has always been, and still is, the rule of the international jungle. The latest example is to be found in the antics of the Tokyo gorilla—the result was Pearl Harbour.

Let us contrast this freedom with the freedom of the individual who lives in a civilised community. He is precluded from doing violence to his neighbours, and his freedom to do or not to do certain things is strictly limited by the laws of his country. The law becomes the guarantee of his freedom because it prevents other members of the community from inflicting injury upon him and gives him the opportunity of securing redress for his grievances. In return for these rights which the law confers upon him, the citizen is under the obligation not only to respect the law, but also to help in upholding it.

It is clear, therefore, that freedom is bound up with justice, and, as we have seen, justice can only be administered and upheld through the rule of law in the international, no less than in the national community. If this is true, the freedom we are fighting for in this war is not the old and false conception of absolute freedom embodied in the national sovereign state, but a new and real freedom which can only be realised under the rule of law.

### *Freedom v. Licence*

Consequently, the question arises, what do we mean by



freedom? Is it the pre-war freedom of the national sovereign state—freedom to injure one's neighbour or to help him? Clearly in a state of anarchy freedom deteriorates into licence—licence to kill, maim and destroy. Hitler, Mussolini and the Tokyo bandit revelled in this kind of freedom because it gave them the opportunity to destroy every one else's freedom and to gratify their lust for mastery and loot. They came within an ace of achieving their nefarious plan. Where they have failed by such a narrow margin, other dictators or aggressor nations may succeed, unless the absolute freedom of the sovereign state is restricted and curtailed by the rule of law.

It follows that if we propose to erect the pillar of Freedom in the Temple of Peace it must be a new pillar. It must not be confused with the pillar of licence, which is only a hollow counterfeit, because no real freedom can exist in any community where everyone is at the mercy of his more powerful neighbour and where equality in the sight of the law, the hallmark of true freedom, is conspicuous by its absence.

When the United Nations have won this war they will be free either to re-erect the old pillar of licence—one of the main supports of the temple of Mars—or to build the new pillar of Freedom alongside the pillar of Justice in the Temple of Peace.

### *Voluntary Assent*

As we have seen, this achievement is impossible unless they are prepared voluntarily to use their freedom in establishing a supra-national authority. That is the difference between Hitler's plan for dominating the world by force, and the establishment of an Authority based upon voluntary assent. The latter implies the intelligent exercise of freedom, and results in the pooling of freedoms in order to prevent any nation from abusing its liberty, which in the past it has so often employed to injure its neighbours. Hitler proposed to put an end to anarchy by enslaving other nations and placing them under the control of the master race. His

policy was based upon imperialism—a brutal, ruthless and evil imperialism. Had it succeeded, however, it would have extinguished the anarchic system of national sovereign states and replaced it by a new international order based, like the Pax Romana, upon a military machine. Decrees emanating from Berlin would have had the force of law because there would have been a law-giver, however vicious ; a law administrator, however harsh ; and a law enforcer, however cruel.

### *Conclusion*

It is clear that when the United Nations have won the war they will still be confronted with the problem of abolishing the system of anarchy, and substituting in its place the rule of law. This result can only be achieved if they are prepared to embrace the principle of relativity, namely, that the concept of freedom is relative, not absolute. They must be willing to surrender a part of their freedom and to curtail their national sovereignty by erecting another pillar—the pillar of Federalism—alongside the pillars of Justice and Freedom. The former, based not upon force but upon voluntary assent, represents the political machinery through which nations can co-operate together for their mutual welfare and security. It provides a peaceful procedure for the settlement of all disputes and, supported by the pillar of Force, it will prevent national governments from plunging the world into the throes of war.

Someone once said “ O Liberty ! O Liberty ! What crimes are committed in thy name.” The dictators asserted their liberties by re-arming their peoples and plunging humanity into World War II, but defeat now stares them in the face and their nefarious plans of conquest and dominion will be wrecked. By their exertions on the battlefield, in the air and on the sea, in the factories and in the fields, the democracies will have won once more the battle of freedom, as they did twenty-five years ago. But unless their new freedoms, the fruits of victory, are dedicated to the cause of justice and placed upon the altar of peace, they will turn

once more to sour grapes and the children's teeth will be set on edge.

What, then, is the paramount task of the free peoples? It is to erect a new pillar of Freedom in the Temple of Peace and to build a new world founded upon liberty ; liberty to mould the common weal, to injure none.



## CHAPTER 8

# THE PILLAR OF DEMOCRACY

### *The Cradle of Democracy*

The fifth pillar in the Temple of Peace is Democracy. This political system was born and developed in the city states of Ancient Greece, where every freeman was entitled to participate directly and personally in the government of his city and the framing of its laws. But in those far off days democracy was based upon slavery. The slave had no political rights or duties. He worked for his masters, the citizens, and supplied the economic needs of the community. As a result of these arrangements, the freemen were able to devote almost all their time to the public service, administering the laws and legislating for the affairs of their cities.

Democracy and slavery, however, are ill-assorted bed-fellows. A system of government based upon the political privileges of the few and denying the rights of the many could not last, because it was a contradiction and repudiation of democratic principles. In practice these principles could not function effectively until they had been linked up with a further discovery in the realm of political science.

### *Representation*

This was the system of representation which enabled all sections of the community, whatever their economic status might be, to participate, not directly but indirectly, through their parliamentary representatives, in the government of their country. In the modern world representation is the basis of every parliamentary and democratic form of government. But it was reserved for the British people to make this discovery, to inaugurate this system and to develop it gradually. From the days of Magna Charta the principles of democracy—equality in the sight of the law and the

right of free men to participate in the political affairs of the nation—have made slow but steady progress, until in the twentieth century the franchise has been extended to include in some cases every adult citizen. These principles were carried by the English-speaking peoples to the remotest parts of the globe—notably to America, Australia and New Zealand—where they established free and democratic institutions. The British example has been emulated in other countries, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed liberal and democratic triumphs in many European communities.

### *The Reactionaries*

At the close of this period, however, the democracies were challenged by the forces of reaction. They were attacked by the governments of those countries whose peoples, saturated with the cult of nationalism, had refused to accept the democratic creed and were consumed by an insatiable ambition to dominate their neighbours. The clash of these ideologies resulted in the first world war.

The German people, obsessed with the desire of restoring the Holy Roman Empire, of achieving the hegemony of Europe, and of becoming the greatest power in the world, sacrificed their individual freedom and democratic ideals in order to discipline and prepare themselves for these stupendous tasks. Consequently they cheerfully acquiesced in the plans of their rulers and allowed themselves to be regimented and militarised, because in accordance with the Prussian tradition they believed that this was the most effective method of realising their objectives. Worshipping the cult of militarism, they magnified the conception of the national sovereign state which they regarded as the last word in political organisation and the summit of human achievement. They repudiated the doctrine that the state was made for man and not man for the state. The individual counted for nothing ; he was merely the tool of the militant state which absorbed all his energies and faculties in the international struggle for power and mastery. The result

was an aggressive nationalism which consistently opposed every proposal tending to rob the national sovereign state of one iota of its absolutism. It refused even to modify or mitigate the anarchic conditions which so frequently ended in costly and disastrous wars.

### *Sovereignty*

Unfortunately it is true that the governments of other countries were also infected, in a milder form, with the germ of sovereignty. With rare exceptions their doctors—the international lawyers—prescribed a homœopathic drug borrowed from the Teutonic pharmacopoeia which tended to aggravate rather than cure the disease. Despite the fact that in the lawless community of national sovereignties all states are supposed to be equal and, therefore, cannot exercise sovereignty over one another, the peoples were constantly urged by their rulers to demonstrate their superiority over their neighbours and to retain their national sovereignty intact.

### *A Superior Authority*

Any proposal to constitute a Supra-National Authority—a Confederation or Federation—charged with the responsibility of inaugurating the rule of law and, if necessary, of enforcing it, was frowned upon not only by the leaders of militant and non-democratic states but also by democratic ministers and the exponents of the fiction described as international law. This is an accurate description because, as Lord Bryce pointed out years ago, “In that (international) sphere there is no law in the strict modern sense, because no superior Authority capable of adjudicating on disputes and enforcing rules exists.” But if the national sovereignties, each revolving in the orbit of its own domestic affairs, had combined to create a superior Authority and to equip it with institutions for adjudicating upon disputes and enforcing its decisions, then rules would have become laws and the security of each would have been merged in the defence of all. Each state would then have been able to devote its



energies to peaceful pursuits, to its intellectual, political and economic development, and to the elucidation of those domestic problems which confront the statesmen of every age. In the words of William Penn, the national sovereignties "are as they were, for none of them have now any sovereignty over one another, and if this be called a lessening of their power, it must be only because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries, and disabled from committing them."

It is indeed surprising that the democracies have allowed their leaders and pundits to pay even lip service to the idol of national sovereignty, which has been worshipped for so long by the people of Germany and all totalitarian states. It is true that at International Conferences the representatives of the Reich have been the chief protagonists of the national sovereign state, and have consistently opposed any proposals which might culminate in the establishment of a Superior Authority.

We must, however, confess that the statesmen and jurists of other countries have been half-hearted in their efforts to overcome the pretensions of the non-democratic states. Instead of attacking the theory and practice of sovereignty they have, on the contrary, maintained its inviolability. But it is clear that so long as the peoples in democratic communities endorse, or even condone, this attitude on the part of their governments, there is no hope of putting an end to the anarchy which in the past has produced one war after another, and will continue to do so in future unless this system is up-rooted and replaced by a new conception, namely, the pooling of sovereignties for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of law and order.

### *Betrayal of Democracy*

We might have expected the democratic nations to insist upon this new departure in the relationships of peoples at the conclusion of the last war, when it was within their power to create an effective and powerful International

Authority. Despite the fact that before the war Germany and her partners had chosen a non-democratic form of government, which they fondly imagined would ensure the victory of their arms, nevertheless the democracies emerged as the victors in this world struggle. They dictated the terms of peace and it appeared as though President Wilson's intention of making the world safe for democracy would be realised. Then suddenly, in the space of a few years, the democratic principles were repudiated in one country after another. Totalitarian systems, varying in degrees but not in kind, sometimes camouflaged, sometimes openly espoused, destroyed the political liberties and free expression of the communities which succumbed to the temptations of militarism, nationalism and self-sufficiency. The betrayal of democracy was by no means confined to Germany, Italy and Japan. In many of the smaller countries, notably in Spain, Greece and the Balkans, we witnessed the same phenomena on a smaller scale.

And whilst these changes were taking place before their eyes, the pioneers and champions of democracy, Great Britain and the United States, looked on listlessly and took no active steps to prevent the dry rot from spreading. The League of Nations, instead of becoming an association of free and democratic peoples, as its founders had intended, degenerated into a hotch-potch of conflicting ideologies and competing governments. In the space of a few years it disintegrated into a number of warring groups.

The lesson is clear and obvious. It is that the Temple of Peace must be supported by the pillar of Democracy, for if the materials used in the construction of the building are a mixture of democratic and totalitarian ingredients, it is bound to collapse sooner or later.

The truth is that dictatorships and democracies have nothing in common. The former rely exclusively upon force for the attainment of their aims and the assertion of their authority, whilst the latter are dependent upon public opinion which finds its expression in the representative institutions of the country.

*The Essential Feature*

Democracy, like every other human system, may have its drawbacks and shortcomings. But it has one essential feature which no other system of government yet devised by man possesses. It is the only form of government where the right or moral use of force can be strictly limited to the policing function. The fact that every member of the community is entitled to play his part freely in the political affairs of the nation deprives him of any moral right to resort to violence. If he desires a reform or suffers from a grievance, his remedy lies in the exercise of his vote. On the other hand, in a totalitarian community the sacred right of rebellion, or resort to force, remains because there is no other means of obtaining redress or of removing the wrongs and tyranny inflicted by the government of the dictator upon his people. The difference between a democratic and a totalitarian regime is that the former relies upon voting, the latter upon shooting. One is armed with a ballot box, the other with a machine gun. Furthermore, in the last resort the dictator is often compelled to divert the wrath of his people from the iniquities perpetrated by himself and his henchmen upon them by plunging the nation into war with one of its neighbours. When he is the head of a militant state this is by no means a difficult task. Consequently, it is not easy to imagine the role to be assigned to the dictator in the Temple of Peace. But if we are determined to put an end to the institution of war—the international duel—however much we believe in the principle of toleration, we cannot afford to risk the collapse of the new Temple by refusing to include the pillar of Democracy as one of its main supports.

*The Vested Interests*

Dictators and totalitarian states, however, are not the only obstacles to be encountered. There are also the vested interests of the national sovereign state which, though less formidable, are to be found in democratic as well as in undemocratic countries.



In every national community where democratic institutions have triumphed, the rank and file have delegated the functions of government to their representatives in parliaments or congresses, and to their civil and military services. Broadly speaking, the ministers, members of Parliament, and persons employed in the services are what may be described as the political vested interests of the national sovereign state. They are entrusted with the conduct of affairs and their duty is to interpret public opinion, to initiate policy, to prepare and pass legislation, to supervise and direct administration, and generally to carry on the business of the nation.

Closely allied to these interests are institutions of various kinds, financial and business corporations—*e.g.*, armament firms—local authorities, educational institutions, etc., all of which in a greater or lesser degree are directly associated with the governments of the national sovereign states. On the other hand, the vast majority of citizens have no personal or direct participation in these affairs. As individuals they have no axes of their own to grind, and their political status and material interests are not necessarily linked up with the perpetuation of the national sovereign state.

### *Common v. Uncommon Man*

This is the real distinction between the individual described by Mr. Henry Wallace as the common man and the uncommon man, whose time and energies are absorbed in the service of the national sovereign state. The difference between the common and the uncommon man is not a question of economic status, educational attainment or social position, but whether the individual is directly or only indirectly associated with the government and administration of his national sovereign state; in other words, whether the authority he wields or the emoluments he receives are due to his office or employment under the State, or are derived from other sources and agencies. This distinction may be a broad one, but it is nevertheless very real. It is clear that the interest of the common man need not necessarily be

identical with those of the political vested interests, especially when the latter fall foul of the vested interests of other national sovereign states. The interest of the common man—of the rank and file—in all countries is a common interest, and is shared by all those sections in every community who are not directly associated with the governments of national sovereign states and their ramifications.

### *The Common Interest*

The common interests of common folk are in the main identical. President Roosevelt has described them as the Four Freedoms—freedom of conscience and expression, freedom from fear and freedom from want. In addition, there is the freedom to participate in the political life of the country and indeed of the world, which in democratic communities the common man can achieve through the exercise of his vote. Another common interest is equality in the sight of the law which is the bedrock of society in every free and democratic country. But the paramount common interest is peace—peace based upon justice—because when the common man is plunged into war, through the criminal follies or negligence of the vested interests, he is called upon to supply the cannon fodder for this process of mutual extermination.

It follows that unless the common man is prepared to curtail the sovereign powers now exercised on his behalf by his national rulers and representatives, he will never be able to achieve his objectives, and his interests will go by the board. The only effective way he can assert his authority is by going into partnership with the common men of other countries whose interests, as we have seen, are similar to his own.

Combined action on these lines involves the erection of another pillar in the Temple of Peace, the pillar of Federalism.

### *The Opposition*

It may well be that the vested interests in the national sovereign states, whose power, prestige and emoluments are endangered, will strenuously oppose the erection of

this pillar. No Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary will relish the prospect of being obliged to state his case before an Equity Tribunal, or possibly of finding himself in a minority in a Confederate Assembly. They may say, "Why should we be robbed of the sovereign right of having the last word in any international dispute, a right which has always been exercised by our predecessors? Why should we be compelled to accept the findings or awards of a Tribunal, however impartial it may be?" It is unlikely that a Minister of War or First Lord of the Admiralty would wish to play second fiddle to the policing department of a superior Authority. It is hardly to be expected that an Air Minister would contemplate with equanimity the transfer of his air squadrons to an International Air Police Force. Even M.P.s and Congressmen might look askance at any proposal which would deprive them of the opportunity of discussing and voting upon questions of external policy, by handing them over to a Federal Parliament, or which would make it necessary for them to run in double harness with a Confederate Assembly. We can hardly blame them, because only statesmen and politicians imbued with the loftiest patriotism and the highest sense of duty are likely to sacrifice the powers they have hitherto enjoyed, especially when they know how easy it is to mobilise atavistic feelings and reactionary tendencies against such a proposal.

In the long run, however, they will be compelled to bow to public opinion and take their marching orders from the electorates they represent. It all depends upon the views and convictions of the common man. If the peoples of the United Nations decide to establish an Authority—a Federation or Confederation—they can do so just as the people of the United States compelled their state governments to fall into line a century and a half ago.

### *Triumph of the Common Man*

It will be remembered that when the Union of the thirteen sovereign states in North America was formed in 1789, one of the chief protagonists of Federation was Alexander



Hamilton, who played a leading part in the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention when the Federal Constitution of the United States was drafted. Writing in "The Federalist," Hamilton said that the most violent opposition to his plans came from the members of the governments and the parliaments of the thirteen states. This is what he wrote: "Among the most formidable of the obstacles which the new Constitution will have to encounter may readily be distinguished the obvious interest of a certain class of men in every State to resist all changes which may hazard a diminution of the power, emolument, and consequence of the offices they hold under the State establishments."

Fortunately on that occasion the common man came to the rescue. By combining with his fellow common men in other states and by endorsing the Federal Constitution with his vote, he created a union of the sovereign states which during the last 150 years has enabled him to secure the highest standard of living in the world. But what is of even greater importance, he safeguarded his political freedom and, with one exception, the Civil War, he conferred upon himself and his children the blessing of peace in the relationships of the sovereign states who had joined together to form the Union. Furthermore, he accomplished this difficult task at a moment when the rivalries and jealousies between the vested interests in these states were intense. Three wars were in progress and eleven disputes were outstanding at the time when the common men—the electorates—decided to constitute what Lord Bryce describes as "a Superior Authority." Perhaps in the annals of democracy this is the greatest triumph of the common man, because on that occasion he was able to over-ride the vested interests and to carry the principles of democracy across the frontiers of the sovereign state.

### *The Issues Involved*

It is clear that the democracies of the United Nations will be faced by precisely the same issue at the conclusion of this war. When they have emerged victorious from the

struggle, will they be prepared to jettison the national sovereign state? Will they combine to establish a Superior Authority equipped with institutions for dispensing justice and upholding the public law? Will they insist that the governments and parliaments they elect shall construct a real, not a sham, League or Confederation of Nations? Will they compel their rulers and representatives to submit themselves to the rule of law? Will they be content with another talking shop or will they demand a supra-national government? Will they be willing to transform their military, naval and air forces into international policemen? Will they confer the monopoly of air power upon a World Authority or Confederation of the United Nations?

These are some of the questions which the common man of the United Nations will be called upon to answer. Mr. Wallace has told us that the twentieth century is the Century of the Common Man. This prediction, however, will not be realised unless the democracies, and especially the English-speaking peoples, understand the vital issues that are involved and the part they must play now if they are determined to save their children from the bloody catastrophe of a third world war.

### *Democracy Leaps the Frontiers*

To assist them in formulating their opinions, it will be necessary to erect another pillar in the Temple of Peace—the pillar of Education. Then it may be possible for democracy to leap the frontiers and assume its rightful place not only in the sphere of domestic affairs but also in the domain of international relationships. Hitherto the peoples of the world have been content to live at arms' length, leaving the conduct of foreign affairs almost entirely in the hands of their governments. Two world wars in the space of twenty-five years, with all the loss of life and treasure they have entailed, should have convinced every sane person that the governments have bungled, and that some drastic remedy must be found.

Surely the lesson is that the peoples—the rank and file

—must pull their weight ; otherwise they will continue to be the victims of the system of national sovereign states. Every citizen, every man and woman, should be prepared to assume his or her responsibility in this vital matter. They must display their readiness now to collaborate with other peoples in peace as well as in war, and this result can only be achieved when they have combined to erect the pillar of Democracy in the Temple of Peace.



## CHAPTER 9

# THE PILLAR OF FEDERALISM

### *Supra-National Government : Imperialism v. Federalism*

In the preceding chapters we have seen that the existing international system of national sovereign states is sheer anarchy which sooner or later must always end in war. It will also be agreed that a durable peace must be founded on justice and, as William Penn impressed upon our ancestors three centuries ago, "justice is the fruit of government."

The experience of mankind proves that there are only two ways of establishing a supra-national government. One method is the imposition by one nation of its authority and rule upon other nations or countries ; this involves coercion, usually by force of arms. The other is achieved by voluntary assent, when sovereign communities freely combine to constitute a common or united government for specific purposes, and are prepared to give it their support and allegiance. The former is imperialism, the latter federalism.

Imperialism is the antithesis of federalism. It derives its motive power from above, from a bureaucracy. Its authority is centred in the ruling community, its affairs are administered by the dominant state, and for its cohesion it relies upon force. On the other hand, federalism draws its inspiration from below, from the peoples. Its authority is derived from a voluntary act and rests upon a moral obligation. All the co-operating states share in its administration, and for its solidarity and permanence it relies upon the rule of law, based upon public opinion.

The two outstanding examples of imperialism are the Roman Empire, which gave peace to the known world of that time for upwards of five centuries, and the British Empire in India, which has maintained the rule of law amongst its tribes, castes, creeds and principalities for more

than two hundred years. Obviously, there are many varieties of imperialism, ranging from the cruel, ruthless and exploiting methods of German administrations in Africa and elsewhere, to the benevolent, tolerant and judicial rule which, on the whole and with few exceptions, has characterised British Imperialism in many parts of the world.

It follows that if we desire to erect the Temple of Peace we must choose between the pillars of Imperialism and Federalism, because in the realm of human experience no other political systems have been evolved which will introduce government and the rule of law into the relationships of states and nations.

It is suggested that in the twentieth century we can rule out imperialism because no free or democratic country will submit permanently to any system imposed upon it by conquest. World War II is a fight to the death against German and Japanese imperialism which, if they had been successful, would have reduced the entire world to a condition of abject slavery under the heel of the Teutonic and Japanese war lords. Furthermore, because imperialism relies upon force as its mainstay, and therefore implies domination over other peoples and races, it is contrary to the principles of freedom and democracy.

### *Principle of Trusteeship*

This view was endorsed by the Allied and Associated Nations at the conclusion of the last war, when it was agreed that henceforth those nations who were entrusted with the administration of new territories outside their national frontiers should be regarded as trustees for the native races they governed. In future the validity of these titles would depend not upon conquest but upon the mandates granted to them by the Allied and Associated Nations. In these mandates conditions were laid down and the League of Nations—the International Authority—was entrusted with the supervision of the trustees, and could call them to account if they failed to carry out the terms of the mandate. It is clear that the mandatory principle undermines the entire

fabric of imperialism, because it implies that the trusteeship is a temporary affair or transitional stage, which terminates when the beneficiaries of the trust come of age and consequently can be entrusted with the management of their own affairs. There is also the implication that during the period of trusteeship the trustee or mandatory power is charged with the duty of introducing self-government gradually, until the native peoples are sufficiently advanced to govern themselves and are able to maintain law and order in their territories without the assistance of the trustee.

### *Implications of Trusteeship*

Consequently, when the trusteeships come to an end, which of course may take a considerable time—depending in each case upon the ability, progress and education of the native peoples—imperialism will have entirely ceased to operate even in this mild form.

But if, with its disappearance and the emergence of the new self-governing sovereign states, no other system of supra-national government has been introduced into the world, founded upon the principles of federalism, the anarchy and chaos will be greater and more pronounced than ever. Unless in the meantime the rule of law has been firmly established in the international community, confusion will be worse confounded and, in despair, mankind may once more have recourse to the alternative system of imperialism. Hence the necessity of constructing the pillar of Federalism in the Temple of Peace.

### *Durability*

It may be true that to secure the consent of a number of states to abandon their so-called sovereign rights and to form a confederation or federation is much more difficult than to impose a union by force. On the other hand, the voluntary union, once achieved, is likely to be much more durable, especially when it is founded upon the direct, not the indirect, participation of the co-operating peoples: in other words, when it assumes the form of a federation, not a confederation.



*Example of Greek City States*

The conception of federalism is by no means new. Like democracy it can be traced to the institutions established by the city states of Ancient Greece. We are indebted to the Greeks for this discovery. It was they who first invented a peaceful procedure for the settlement of their inter-city state disputes. These sovereign communities agreed to create federal and confederate institutions in order to banish war and to promote justice and peace in their mutual relationships.

At a much later period, when the Federal Constitution of the U.S.A. was being drafted, writers in "The Federalist" described the Amphictyonic Council and the Achaean League. In an interesting article Hamilton and Madison wrote of the Achaean League: "Could its interior structure and regular operation be ascertained, it is probable that more light might be thrown by it on the science of federal government than by any of the like experiments with which we are acquainted." The principles and ideas underlying the confederate and federal constitutions of the Greek City States provided the framers of the American Constitution with material for their discussions, and left an indelible mark upon the results of their labours. Thus thirteen sovereign and independent states, drawing their inspiration from this remote age, were merged together in one union a century and a half ago.

*Example of U.S.A.*

It will be generally agreed that the greatest contribution of the people of the U.S.A. to the advancement of civilisation and the progress of political science was the adoption of the federal constitution. In the modern world they are the pioneers and exponents of federalism. At the outset they devised the political machinery for effecting the union of thirteen sovereign states. To-day this union, stretching across a vast continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, comprises no fewer than forty-eight states. It was founded upon the principle of voluntary assent;

there was no coercion from above but, on the contrary, the pressure came from below. Recognising their common interests, the democracies of the thirteen states voted themselves into the union—it was a deliberate and voluntary act.

Is it too much to hope that, having enjoyed the benefits of this form of supra-state government for so long a period, the people of the U.S.A.—130,000,000 strong—will now take the lead in extending this beneficent system, so that it may include all those who are determined to put an end to the institution of war, and to promote the peace and prosperity of mankind? Will the successors of Washington, Hamilton, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson insist upon the erection of the pillar of Federalism in the Temple of Peace?

### *Confederation v. Federation*

This pillar may be divided into two sections—Confederation and Federation. The former is a league or association of governments; the latter a union of peoples. Perhaps the best example of a confederation is the League of Nations. Its Council and Assembly were composed of nominees of governments, not of representatives directly elected by the peoples of its states members. On the other hand, the constitution of the U.S.A. illustrates the working of a federation in which the President and Congress—the Senate and House of Representatives—are directly elected by the people of the United States.

In the case of a Confederation the governments of its states members are responsible to the national legislatures or parliaments which they represent in the Assembly and Council of the Confederation. On the other hand, under a federal constitution the members of the federal parliament or congress are directly responsible to the peoples of the member states. In the former the co-operating peoples can only exert an indirect pressure—through their parliaments and governments—upon the proceedings of the confederation. In the latter they are able to exercise a direct control through their elected representatives, who are accountable to their

constituents, and not to the foreign offices and national parliaments of the member states.

It follows that democratic control of foreign policy will not be fully and finally achieved until a clear line of demarcation has been drawn between domestic or internal affairs on the one hand, and foreign or external affairs on the other. This arrangement involves two sets of elected representatives, one to the Federal Assembly or Congress, another to the National Parliament. Except by plebiscite or referendum, there is no other method of divorcing domestic from foreign affairs and thus enabling the electorates to pronounce their verdicts separately upon two distinct sets of questions submitted to them. Unfortunately under the existing system a national parliament may be elected on some domestic issue, but it does not follow that it or the government represents the views of the electorate on questions of foreign policy. In these circumstances the public mind becomes confused, and it is impossible for the democracies to exercise proper or effective control over their governments in their relationships with other peoples or governments.

### *Two Examples*

Two examples will serve to illustrate this point.

The Labour Government in Britain endorsed the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which registered the high-water mark of the League's prestige and influence. A General Election followed immediately afterwards. This election was fought on other questions—the Protocol was a side issue and was hardly ever mentioned in the electoral campaign. A Tory administration was returned to office and promptly rejected the Protocol. Sir Austen Chamberlain delivered its funeral oration in the Council of the League, and afterwards concluded the ill-starred Pact of Locarno in its stead. But had the British people been given an opportunity of accepting or rejecting the Protocol, there is every reason to suppose that they would have endorsed its provisions. The truth is they never had a chance of expressing a considered opinion.

The second and most flagrant example was the election



o. 1935, when the Baldwin administration was returned with a mandate to resist aggression in Abyssinia and to support the Covenant of the League "in its entirety." But within a few weeks of the declaration of the poll the Government repudiated their pledges when they endorsed the Hoare-Laval Pact, which threw the Emperor of Ethiopia and his people to the Italian wolves, and completely knocked the bottom out of the Covenant and the League.

It may be doubted whether in our long history there has ever been such a barefaced betrayal of democratic principles. Moreover, coming after the debacle of Manchuria, it was the second occasion when we helped to sabotage the League by adopting the policy of appeasement which finally landed us in World War II. It is clear that in both these cases, the rejection of the Protocol and the betrayal of Abyssinia, the British electorate was prevented from exercising democratic control over the foreign policy of the country.

Other instances may also be quoted which demonstrate that the essential difference between a federal and a confederate constitution is whether the peoples of the co-operating countries exercise jointly a direct or only an indirect control over the supra-national authority or government they have agreed to establish.

Moreover, past experience proves that federation is likely to produce the most satisfactory and durable results, and that confederation is either the forerunner of federation, as it was in the cases of the United States and Switzerland, or is apt to fall to pieces when the tension becomes acute, as it did in the case of the League of Nations. The reasons are not far to seek. A federal parliament composed of elected representatives whose existence, political status and emoluments depend upon the continued existence of the international authority or federation, is more likely to survive than a confederate assembly composed of Foreign Office nominees whose remuneration is derived from and whose future careers are dependent upon the national governments they serve. In their approach to international questions, the nominees are much more likely to be swayed

by what they rightly or wrongly conceive to be the national interest than by the demands of the general interest, which in the long run is found to be synonymous with the national interest.

For instance, in the Manchurian affair, our Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, told the House of Commons: "I am myself enough of a pacifist to take this view, that however we handle the matter I do not intend my own country to get into trouble about it." At that moment the general interest demanded resistance to the aggressor—Japan—and assistance to the victim of aggression—China. By shirking our obligations to China and refusing to support the general interest, the Foreign Secretary hoped to avoid trouble, but in doing so he sowed the seeds of a far greater and more perilous trouble which descended upon us eight years later. In the long run the national interest coincided with the general interest. Moreover, representatives of national sovereign states are more prone to quarrel and to secede from a Confederation than are the duly elected representatives of the peoples in a federal parliament.

### *Working of Democracy*

It follows that if all the peoples of the world had established and were accustomed to live under democratic institutions in their own countries, and if they understood and practised democratic principles in their domestic affairs, the best form of supra-national government would be a federal constitution, or what Tennyson once described as the Parliament of Man. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case, and in many instances self-government of the people, by the people, for the people, does not operate or has only recently been introduced. Russia and China are two outstanding examples.

Consequently, until parliamentary and democratic government has been universally adopted and practised in the conduct of domestic affairs, it is difficult to imagine how the Parliament of Man could function effectively. The truth is that world consciousness and public opinion have

not yet been developed to the point when such an institution, however desirable it may be, could shoulder its duties and responsibilities with any hope of success. It might even degenerate into a veritable bear-garden, and collapse in confusion and disintegration.

### *Representation*

Moreover, there is the difficulty of representation. Upon what principle would it be assessed? For instance, on the basis of population, say one member per million inhabitants, China and India would be entitled to about 820 members in the World Federal Parliament, whilst Russia, the U.S.A. and the British Commonwealth would only return about 380 members between them.\* In these circumstances it would appear that the time has not yet arrived when the Federal Parliament of Man can be constituted, and therefore we are compelled to fall back upon a Confederate Assembly or a reformed League of Nations as one section—perhaps the biggest section—of the pillar of Federalism in the Temple of Peace.

### *English-speaking Peoples*

This does not mean, however, that federal sections should not be included. Like-minded nations—the English-speaking peoples, for instance—who have for centuries practised democracy through representative institutions and who understand the principles and working of this system, could establish a practicable and effective federal union, if they desired to do so. They would then be able to secure democratic control of a common foreign policy which would enable them to speak with one voice in the council and assembly of the Confederate Authority. Joint action on these lines on the part of the English-speaking peoples, based upon democratic and federal institutions, would provide the Authority with a sheet anchor and thus enhance its solidarity and cohesion, which the League of Nations so sadly lacked.

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\* Recent estimates give the following as the populations of the countries indicated: China, 450 millions; India, 374 millions; U.S.S.R., 175 millions; U.S.A., 130 millions; British Commonwealth, 82 millions.



*Potential Federations*

Should the peoples of the United States and the British Commonwealth decide to set such an example, it might be followed eventually by the peoples of other countries. For instance, there might be a European Federation, or what M. Briand used to describe as the United States of Europe. Leaving Germany out of the picture at the outset, why should not the peoples of Europe who belong to the United Nations decide to put their own house in order and form a federal parliament amongst themselves? Similarly the states of South America might co-operate to establish a federal union, whilst a Chinese democratic republic would form the nucleus of a Far Eastern Federation. The Union of Soviet Republics is already a federation comprising two hundred million people. Furthermore, self-government has been promised to India; when it becomes operative a sixth federation may come into existence embracing Central Asia. Here, then, we may discover materials for the construction of the pillar of Federalism in the Temple of Peace. Here are six potential federations which might ultimately replace the individual states as the constituent members of the World Confederation or Authority.

*Functions of Authority*

Unlike its predecessor, the League of Nations, which consisted of sixty-odd national sovereign states, this Authority would then be composed of six federal or semi-federal political units embracing the vast majority of the inhabitants of the globe. As we have seen, instead of being merely an instrument of "diplomacy by conference," the Assembly and Council of the Authority, representing these political entities, would be charged with the responsibility of (a) establishing a peaceful procedure for the settlement of all disputes—the Assembly reinforced by an Equity Tribunal—(b) the creation of a confederate air police force to maintain law and order, and (c) the appointment of Commissions to investigate and make recommendations for the solution of economic problems and other matters of common concern.

No doubt there are people who will denounce this or any similar plan as midsummer madness—the description applied by Mr. Neville Chamberlain to the sanctions imposed upon Italy in 1936. In 1943, however, most people are agreed that appeasement was a much more dangerous and destructive form of madness, because it helped to plunge humanity into another blood bath. It is now clear that if the frequent attacks of insanity, resulting in the imbecility of wholesale slaughter, are to be prevented, some drastic change in international relationships is needed to-day, however visionary and Utopian it may appear to the reactionaries and appeasers.

### *Gradual Development*

It is not suggested, however, that the developments outlined above can be realised all at once or in the immediate future. The pillar of Federalism will have to be erected in stages, and it may be a long process. But that is no reason why men and women of goodwill in all parts of the world, who desire to save civilisation from being engulfed in a new era of barbarism, should not carry a blueprint in their minds. Before this pillar finds its consummation in the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World, it will have to pass through a number of stages.

### *Preliminary Stages*

For instance, at the conclusion of this war, following the procedure of the Paris Peace Conference, it may well be that the Big Four—the U.S.A., the British Commonwealth, Russia and China—may become at the outset the nucleus of the United Nations Authority. They may draft and submit a new Covenant for the consideration of the other members of the United Nations, all of whom will be invited to assume the duties and responsibilities of membership. Furthermore, at a later stage, regional groups may be formed, gradually co-operating, uniting and expanding into larger federations, as education and intercourse develop, and the common man begins to realise that the good of each nation is bound up in the good of all. During this

transitional stage the Temple will be supported by the other pillars, and there is no reason to suppose that they will not be able to bear its weight until the pillar of Federalism has been finally completed.

### *The Arch*

But perhaps it would be more accurate to describe Federalism as the arch linking up the pillars of Morality, Justice, Freedom, Force and Democracy, because it provides the means or mechanism through which the support of these pillars becomes effective in carrying the weight of the whole structure.

In helping to construct this arch patriotic men and women everywhere should realise that they are not betraying the national ideals, cultures and identities of their own people or country. On the contrary, under the wings of federal and confederate institutions they will enjoy a security they have never known before, creating the conditions under which these imponderables will be encouraged and developed. What they will lose is the right and opportunity to subjugate, injure and destroy their fellowmen. No longer will the scientist be able to prostitute his inventions and discoveries to the art of slaughter by converting them into weapons for the purpose of international duelling or trial by battle. On the contrary, as Kant prophesied two centuries ago, he will be compelled to employ "the mechanism of nature" in promoting justice and peace by transforming it into a policing instrument in order to establish the "Empire of Right." The alternative, as Kant foresaw, is "the great graveyard of the human race." The progress of science and its practical application to the art of killing—two world wars in twenty years, a holocaust of lives, misery and suffering on a gigantic scale, unparalleled destruction and impoverishment—prove that the graveyard may not be so far away.

But when victory has been won and the forces of evil have been vanquished ; when repentance has opened the road to salvation ; when the selfishness of the few has been superseded by the goodwill of the many ; when the desire



for mastery has been quenched and imperialism has been banished ; then will come a period of respite—the Great Opportunity. When that moment arrives let the nations of the world turn their faces in all humility towards the Temple with the firm resolve to erect within its precincts the pillar of Federalism and the arches of Union and Peace.

## THE PILLAR OF EDUCATION

### *Democracy and Education*

Our Temple is now supported by six pillars, and to complete it one more must be added—the pillar of Education.

In order to hasten the erection of the Temple and to ensure its stability, it will be necessary to include this pillar which, in its widest sense, embraces religious as well as secular teaching. And if we regard Federalism as the arch connecting the supporting pillars, then Education may also be regarded as the cement which binds each of them together. It follows that the precepts of morality, the principles of justice, freedom, democracy and federalism, and the function of force should all be included in the educational programme. It is a truism that in the long run public opinion is the decisive factor in human relationships. Is it to be an informed and wide-spread, or an ignorant and restricted public opinion? The answer will depend upon the kind of education which is forthcoming and upon the scope of its activities.

It is clear that democracy becomes a shibboleth unless the duties and responsibilities of citizenship are recognised and taught. Moreover they should not be confined to any one country or group. Democracy is not an end in itself, but as we have seen it is one of the indispensable pillars of peace. It follows that education should not be restricted merely to the accumulation of knowledge, even for its own sake, or to the equipment of individuals for some particular walk of life. It should be inspired by a higher purpose and imbued with a burning desire to achieve a definite objective—the preparation of the individual for service to the community.

Judged by this standard, no one can suggest that the educational system and programmes operating in different countries have been particularly fruitful or have produced

satisfactory results. When we observe that in the twentieth century of the Christian era one half of the world mobilises all its resources, prostitutes all its discoveries and inventions and directs all its energies to slaughtering and destroying the other half, we can only conclude that religious and educational institutions have completely failed to vindicate the teachings of morality, to accomplish their high mission or even to justify their existence.

It is partly because education has by-passed the duties and moral obligations of citizenship that the animal we call man still remains a product of the jungle, and cannot escape from the anarchy of tooth and claw. One imagines that if an inhabitant of Mars had visited this planet in the last four years he might have found it difficult to distinguish between him and the beasts of the field. Perhaps he might have preferred the beasts ! There are, of course, many reasons to account for the failure of education, but perhaps the main one is the absence of any higher purpose which it should serve. It is clear that unless our educational institutions are inspired by a moral purpose, a positive aim, they will continue to be the unseen assassins of civilisation and the passive friends of reaction and anarchy.

### *The Paramount Purpose*

What, then, is the paramount purpose of education ? Is it the preparation for a career ? No ! Important as this may be, careers are only ends in themselves. They chiefly concern the individual, not the community.

Is it the accumulation of knowledge ? No ! Pundits and learned men, having acquired vast stores of knowledge, are often unwilling or unable to employ it for the benefit and advancement of their fellowmen. The highest purpose is so often obscured by the blinds of knowledge. If it were otherwise, the world would not now be rent in twain.

Is it new discoveries in the realm of science ? No ! Since these discoveries and inventions are used to augment the misery, suffering and impoverishment of man, and to make his life "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."



Is it the training of the mind? No! Because, although this training is important, it does not follow that the mind will revolve within the orbit of the higher purpose.

Is it loyalty to the national sovereign state? No! Because as Nurse Cavell said when she faced the firing squad: "Standing at the brink of the grave, I feel that Patriotism alone is not enough."

Is it the prevention of war? No! Because prevention is negative, not positive. With all its degradation and cruelty there are worse things in the world than war—persecution, slavery and greed.

What, then, is the supreme aim, the higher purpose of education? It is to inculcate the spirit of service—service to God and to our fellowmen. Clearly, we can only render this service if we are equipped with the knowledge that fits us and, above all, are animated by the impulse that inspires us to discharge the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, not only in our national communities but also in the wider sphere of our relationships with other peoples. We must be able to recognise our obligations of service, first as citizens of our own country, and secondly as citizens of the world. Until this truth is realised and accepted, education will fail to accomplish its high mission, its paramount purpose.

### *The Christian Ethic*

The recognition of duties is one of the heritages bequeathed to us by the Christian ethic, which for almost two thousand years has essayed to break down the frontiers of nationality, race and colour, and to include all human beings in the brotherhood of man. Attempts to implement this ethic, however feeble, imperfect and inadequate, are to be found in the slow and fluctuating progress of western civilisation since the era of the Dark Ages, when the civilisations of Greece and Rome disappeared into the abyss of barbarism. But even in the Dark Ages there were men and women who believed in a higher purpose. During the centuries which have followed, their ideals have been partially expressed in free and democratic institutions, the bedrock upon which

western civilisation has been gradually and haltingly built. These institutions are the hallmarks of this civilisation and distinguish it from the barbarism out of which it emerged. They proclaimed the dignity of man, the sacredness of human life, and they insisted upon the unfettered working and free expression of the human mind. They were founded upon the conviction that reason and the moral sense, not force, should be the arbiters in human affairs. Broadly speaking, the principles of western civilisation are identical with the pillars we must erect in the Temple of Peace—Morality, Justice, Freedom, Democracy, Federalism, the Right Use of Force and Education.

### *The New Barbarism*

In the twentieth century the higher purpose, the ultimate goal of western civilisation, has been savagely attacked and almost submerged by the recrudescence of nihilism and barbarism in their crudest and cruellest forms. Taking advantage of the anarchy imposed upon mankind by the system of national sovereign states, these heathenish forces sought to impose their creed, their way of life, upon all those nations who had espoused the cause of western civilisation. The pillars supporting this new barbaric temple are tyranny, slavery, dictatorship, imperialism, power politics *and education*. The one supreme immoral purpose is the subjugation of mankind—body and soul—to the Master Race. It follows that religion, ethics, morality, justice and freedom must be pitchforked into the abyss. Western civilisation must be finally destroyed and its archives consigned to the flames and the rubbish heap. Such is the new barbarism. In the countries of its origin—Germany, Italy and Japan—it invoked the assistance of education and propaganda in the furtherance of its nefarious aims. Not only were these potent instruments employed in moulding the public opinion of their own national sovereign states, but they were exported, both surreptitiously and openly, across the frontiers. The poisons of barbarism were sprayed upon all the western democracies and peoples until at length

the war of words culminated in the war of weapons. And so it happened that when violence was let loose the enemies of western civilisation and the protagonists of the new barbarism were to be found in every country, and World War II, assumed the character of a gigantic civil war.

### *Results*

Looking back over the past twenty years, can anyone doubt the results that may accrue from education and propaganda, directed as they have been to sinister and evil ends? Intensive education at home, widespread propaganda abroad, engineered by unscrupulous and ambitious men, these are the explosives employed to undermine the pillars of the Temple. They are carefully prepared to appeal to the worst tendencies and most evil instincts of human nature everywhere. German, Japanese and Italian youth were trained from infancy in the new religion. Their minds were warped and poisoned with Nazi and Fascist teachings. Schools, colleges and universities were staffed with the missionaries of the new gospel of nationalism, intolerance and hate. Years ago Hitler stated his educational objectives in these words: "I shall eradicate the thousands of years of human domestication. I want to see in the eyes of youth the gleam of the beast of prey. A youth will grow up before which the world will shrink." Is it surprising, then, that when these youthful and fanatical barbarians marched on to the battlefield their minds were already attuned to the business of slaughter, rapine and destruction? Can we wonder that they indulge in orgies of cruelty and violence? But let us not forget that the sources of all this arrogance, bestiality and brutality were nihilism and barbarism, and the channel through which they flowed was education.

### *Democratic Counter-Measures*

And what, we may well ask, were the counter-measures? What steps did the democracies take to safeguard western civilisation and prevent the higher purpose from being submerged? Did they teach their children the principles



of a civilisation for which their ancestors had fought and died? Did they inspire their offspring with a burning zeal for freedom, justice and the rule of law? In schools and colleges did their teachers and professors impress upon the youthful minds the duties and obligations of citizenship in a free and democratic country, which all would be called upon to exercise when they reached years of discretion? Were our young people informed of the priceless heritage handed down to them by their forefathers? Was it also suggested to them that, as citizens of the world, they were under a moral obligation to protect the weak and to assist the needy and backward nations? Beginning at the elementary school and right up to the university, were they taught the mechanism of government at home, the principles upon which the British Commonwealth has been founded and the meaning of federalism? Was their knowledge of history and geography mainly confined within the narrow limits of their own country? In short, what was the answer to the barbaric creed and system of education? Was there any answer at all? Did western civilisation fail to respond to the challenge and content itself with a dry, technical routine, and soulless educational programme, devoid of any inspiration or enthusiasm for the higher purpose?

This is what Mr. Carl Hambro, the Speaker of the Norwegian Parliament, who on many occasions represented Norway at Geneva, says in his book "How to win the Peace": "In many interested quarters there is a growing realisation that one of the main reasons why the last peace was never really won was the lack of education, school education, adult education . . . Reluctantly and belatedly politicians and diplomats have been forced to realise the fact that as children are taught at schools and universities so will they act in national and international life."

It is to be feared that many of our authorities and pundits preferred to assume a cold neutrality. They shunned the positive and embraced the negative creed, with the result that when dark clouds appeared upon the international horizon public opinion was caught unprepared. It may be

true that in many schools and educational institutions time was devoted to the study of the League of Nations and the principles of international co-operation. Unfortunately, however, before the deluge came the fundamental principles and basic knowledge of government acquired by the rank and file, no less than by their leaders, their outlook and mentality, were totally inadequate to prevent the violent impact between the contending forces of civilisation and barbarism. During the period between World Wars I and II the democracies and their political representatives were morally and mentally incapable of utilising their power and leadership to ward off the approaching catastrophe. But had the democratic communities been prepared in advance, had they been taught the elementary principles of government and the rule of law, the final shock—war—might have been avoided altogether. The barbarians were decisively beaten in 1918, and if education had come to the rescue after the armistice, the embryonic pillars of peace which the founders of the League of Nations had hoped would be strengthened and completed at Geneva, might not have been abandoned and sabotaged. This unfortunate result would not have happened if educational systems had played their part in preparing a sound and virile public opinion, based not upon emotional propaganda, but upon a knowledge and understanding of the principles and ideals of government which in the past had been preached by the pioneers of western civilisation.

### *International Education Office*

At the conclusion of the last war there were many discussions at Geneva and elsewhere concerning the role which educational institutions might be expected to play in winning the peace. It will be remembered that as a result the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was established in 1922 under the auspices of the League of Nations. It may be asked how it was that this body, representative of so many democratic nations, failed, as Mr. Hambro has reminded us, to discharge its high mission

and to achieve the objectives for which it had been constituted. Perhaps its title was unfortunate, and had it been described as the Institute of World Citizenship, or the International Education Office, it might have fared better. Perhaps the politicians and intellectuals starved and killed it. They may have trembled at the thought that they might be accused of bias and propaganda on the side of democracy and the rule of law. But whatever the causes of failure may have been, that is no reason why some co-operative educational organisation should not emerge at the end of this war. It might be constituted on lines similar to the International Labour Office, and should be included as an integral part of any International Authority or Confederation of the United Nations which is established in the post-war world. Such a department should be properly organised and liberally supported by all those nations who will have covenanted together to erect the pillar of Education. It should be charged with the responsibility of establishing personal contacts with the leaders of education in every country, with teachers, education authorities and those who are responsible for the range and choice of subjects taught in their schools, colleges and universities. Moreover, the International Education Office should endeavour to arrange for the interchange of teachers, lecturers and professors, and for reciprocal visitations of scholars and students between one country and another. No doubt there are many other functions and activities which this office could usually perform—including the establishment of a World University—in order to inculcate world citizenship. But, above all, if it is to play its part in erecting the pillar of Education in the Temple of Peace such an organisation must preach its gospel fearlessly, undeterred by intellectual bickerings and wranglings. It must be inspired by a definite aim and a clear-cut objective.

### *The Future*

What of the future? In the noise of battle, in the strains and stresses of the struggle, has the higher purpose completely



faded from our vision? When victory has been won, shall we be so tired and weary that the lessons of the past twenty years will fail to impress us and will soon be forgotten in the strife of peace? Shall we be afraid of proclaiming our intention of joining our neighbours in building the Temple lest we may incur the ridicule of those who sit in the seats of the scornful? Will the results of education, fashioning our outlook upon life, be materialistic and uninspiring, devoid of any positive aim which will direct our footsteps into the paths of equity, justice and peace? Education cannot be neutral. It is a double-edged instrument. It can be employed in the service of God or the devil, of good or evil, of civilisation or barbarism. It is a matter that concerns all of us, and if we trifle with it the consequences, as we have seen, may be most unpleasant and disastrous. We can use it to attack barbarism, instead of allowing barbarism to employ it to attack us. This does not mean that truth must be sacrificed or suppressed. On the contrary, those who diligently seek after truth should be best qualified to instruct their fellowmen in the building of the Temple. To discover and discern the truth, however, is not enough. It should be reflected in the minds and actions of individuals and nations. It must produce positive results.

### *History*

Furthermore, so much depends upon the way in which the truth is presented. For instance, history books may be merely a chronicle of wars; other activities which contributed to the march of civilisation may be glossed over or entirely omitted. History may also be recorded with a bias in favour of one particular state or nation. Prejudices, animosities and quarrels, real not imaginary, may, nevertheless, be exaggerated. The defects of one political system may be described at length, whilst the shortcomings of another are barely mentioned. Consequently, to discover a true balance, to avoid bias, exaggeration and omission, it may be necessary to re-write the history books of many countries in order to get the right perspective which will

fit them for their true setting in the records of civilisation and the history of mankind.

### *Civic Duties*

Then there is the teaching of civic duties and responsibilities which cannot be divorced from a knowledge of the history and growth of the legislative, administrative, judicial and policing institutions, and their respective roles in the life of the national community. Knowledge, like charity, should begin at home. No man or woman can exercise intelligently the responsibilities of world citizenship unless and until they have learnt how to shoulder their civic duties in their own country. The principles of justice, freedom, democracy, federalism, the right use of force and equality in the sight of the law, are not the monopoly of any one nation. Not only should they be practised by all national communities, but they should also be applied in the sphere of international relationships. Moreover, not until the champions of western civilisation pursue a common aim, and are imbued with a higher purpose, will they be able to employ the resources of education, not only for their mutual benefit but also for the advantage and progress of all peoples.

### *The Microphone*

In the twentieth century these resources have been immeasurably increased. Science has presented mankind with the wireless, the cinematograph and the aeroplane. Ideas can now be circulated round the globe with incredible speed. The microphone knows no frontiers. It has undermined the foundations of the national sovereign state. Before its onslaught even the Tower of Babel is in danger of collapsing. It is capable of becoming the link between common men in all countries. Its possibilities are enormous, and it may become the great unifier of the human race, accelerating the processes of education in all parts of the world.

### *The Cinematograph*

The cinematograph is another educational medium which, if it is inspired with a moral purpose, not merely by the profit

motive, is capable of interpreting the lives of individuals and nations to other communities, even in distant parts of the world. On the screen the evils which afflict mankind can be exposed and the public conscience awakened. The youthful mind can be developed and the lessons of history presented and illustrated in such a way as to leave an indelible impression upon the most illiterate and ignorant of audiences. The fact that the cinema is primarily regarded as a source of amusement and the purveyor of entertainment does not detract from its potentialities as a world-wide teacher. It may develop into one of the main sections of the pillar of Education.

### *The Aeroplane*

Lastly, there is the aeroplane which has outstripped every other form of transport in linking up the countries of the world. There is no longer any reason why peoples should live apart as isolated units. After the war it should be possible for the democracies to form personal contacts with other nations on a scale never dreamed of in the past. Education is not confined to the classroom ; it is not merely a question of books and lectures, or even of wireless talks and cinema productions. A man who has never wandered outside his own parish is ill-equipped to become a citizen of Britain. Similarly a man who has never travelled outside the confines of his own country is ill-equipped to become a citizen of the world. What he needs is to become personally acquainted with other countries and peoples, to understand their outlook and way of life. Assuming that he sets out upon his visitations animated by a spirit of tolerance and goodwill, he will probably learn valuable lessons from his experiences which will help him to become a more efficient citizen at home and a better citizen of the world.

It follows that if civil aviation is properly organised after the war, it should become the means of increasing the contacts between nations, especially the contacts of the common man. If the costs of air transportation can be reduced, if " holidays with pay " become the rule and, above



all, if the desire to see other countries and know other peoples is stimulated through educational institutions, there is no reason why the mutual intercourse of nations should not assume vast proportions. It is all a question of organisation. Governments, transport companies, travel bureaus, industrial organisations, trade unions, educationalists and voluntary societies can all take a hand in organising travelling facilities at the cheapest possible rates. Travelling or visiting groups might be formed, whose members would be willing to make weekly contributions towards a common fund, following the procedure adopted by co-operative building societies and similar institutions. Parties may wish to visit Russia or North America, for instance, which are now within one day's journey of this country. Assuming only a fortnight's holiday as the minimum, twelve days could be spent in touring the chief centres of interest where suitable programmes and accommodation could be provided for the visitors. Similar and reciprocal arrangements could be made in this and other countries.

Imagine such an organisation at work on a global scale, handling a huge volume of traffic which would tend to reduce costs to the lowest possible level, and thus enable the common man to mix freely with the common men of other countries. We can only hope that such a mixing will contribute to a better mutual understanding. In any case it cannot be capable of worse results than the isolationism of the past, which has inflicted two sanguinary wars upon the world in the short space of twenty years.

### *Scout Movement*

A promising experiment on these lines has already been made. During the relatively brief period of its existence the Boy Scout Movement has organised Jamborees or Camps, which were attended by boys from many different countries and nationalities. A spirit of esprit-de-corps was created, bonds of friendship established and personal links forged between the boys. - They ceased, at any rate for the moment, to regard each other as potential enemies, and discovered

that they had many interests in common. On the other hand, the youthful barbarians in Germany and Italy were forbidden to attend the Jamborees, because they were taught a different creed which their rulers thought might be undermined if they came into contact with the youthful products of western civilisation and imbibed the spirit and ideals of free and democratic communities.

### *Resources*

It would, therefore, seem that the resources of education are almost unlimited and that many of them still remain untapped. Even the foundations of this pillar have scarcely been laid, but the tools for its construction are ready to hand. They can be employed either to develop the cult of barbarism in the Temple of Mars, or the progress of civilisation in the Temple of Peace ; to drag man down to a lower or to lift him up to a higher plane. Scientific discoveries are neither good nor bad. Everything depends upon how they are used and whether they serve to strengthen or weaken the moral fibre and stamina of humanity. As we have seen, pernicious influences, poisonous propaganda and a frivolous disregard for the religious and political ideals of our forefathers have contributed to make World War II a widespread civil war.

### *Nemesis*

This is the Nemesis which has descended upon us. It is the result of sloppy morality, sloppy religion, sloppy education, sloppy thinking, culminating in sloppy politics. The barbarians had a creed—a cruel, heathenish, reactionary creed—but nevertheless a positive creed. By means of education and propaganda, in less than two decades they succeeded in Nazifying Germany and converting her youth into a horde of Huns and heathens. They had no scruples ; they were austere—guns for butter—and in deadly earnest ; they were not sloppy. On the other hand, western civilisation developed soft spots—selfishness, pacifism, indiscipline, materialism, money, luxury, decadent art, jazz, cosmetics and other symptoms of a glamorous neo-barbarism and of semi-decay.

Is it, therefore, surprising that this civilisation, passive, rudderless and emasculated, merely drifted? It still paid lip service to principles and ideals which to the vast majority of its peoples had lost their meaning. We search in vain for the vision, moral purpose, austerity and courage of its Founding Fathers. When the cup of appeasement, selfishness and moral cowardice at length overflowed, Nemesis presented her account. The democracies are now paying the price of their sloppiness and mental torpor. They will have paid it twice over in two world wars. Measured not only in life and treasure, but above all in terms of moral delinquency and degradation, it has been a dear and costly price to pay for their betrayal of western civilisation and their failure to construct the Temple of Peace.

### *Lessons*

War is a stern taskmaster, but if we are to judge from the events of the last twenty years, its lessons are easily forgotten. Consequently, when victory is won let us not indulge in chest-thumping, flag-wagging and a return to the complacency and frivolities of the pre-war years. Rather let there be a season of repentance and re-dedication, because without repentance there can be no salvation from the sins and errors of the past; without re-dedication there can be no beacon-light, no paramount aim, to give us faith and hope for the future. Our religious and educational systems provide the means and the methods through which these hard lessons can be learnt and turned to good account in the training of those generations which come after us. It must be made clear to everyone that the deep-rooted causes of this war cannot be attributed solely to the barbarians, who merely precipitated it and were encouraged to do so when they discovered the soft spots and the gangrenous tissues which were poisoning the very life blood of western civilisation.

### *The Battle*

Fortunately the battle was joined before the disease had completed its deadly work. At last the democracies were



rudely awakened out of their long sleep. They were forced to realise that their own existence was at stake. At the eleventh hour they threw themselves into the fray, and by their courage, tenacity and resolution proved to the world that the heirs of western civilisation, roused from their torpor, blindness and ignorance, were still able to endure sacrifices, privation and even to face death itself, rather than capitulate to the barbarians. Young men who a few years previously had registered their intention never to fight for anything, not even for their King and Country, now flocked to the colours. Many even of the adherents of spurious movements and excrescences, like the Oxford Group—another soft spot—whose leader had thanked God for Adolf Hitler and had fraternised with Himmler—volunteered to serve in the fighting services. In the air, on sea and on land, airmen, sailors and soldiers displayed a heroism, fortitude and determination unsurpassed by their forefathers.

Their example was followed by the inhabitants of our teeming cities, by fire-fighters and watchers, by wardens, police and the rank and file—the nobodies. In spite of the anæmia of the Chamberlain government, and the phoney character of the war in its early stages, the spark of patriotism had leapt into a flame before a year had elapsed. Pearl Harbour roused the citizens of the U.S.A. as Dunkirk had roused the people of Britain. The virility of democracy was no longer in doubt, and despite its lack of foresight and education, it was resolved to make every sacrifice for its freedom, even to the last ditch, the last street and the last man. Let us hope that in the strain and turmoil of war western civilisation has recovered its soul; that the days of complacency, appeasement and betrayal are past.

When victory has been won let the democracies who have fought shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield, who have shed their blood and poured out their treasure for the common cause, let them join together to erect a new Temple of Peace. United in a common policy, pursuing a positive aim, they should employ the resources of religion and

education to ensure that in future the rule of law, the well-being of humanity, and the advancement of civilisation, shall not be menaced by the forces of anarchy, nihilism and barbarism, either in their own communities or in the wider sphere of international relationships. It follows that the urgent and supreme task of education is to restore faith and confidence once more in a higher purpose, and to convince the children of men that a glorious future awaits them if they set their faces towards the Empire of Right and direct their footsteps towards the Kingdom of God.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TEMPLE OF MARS

#### *Characteristics of War*

In the long and chequered history of the human race there have always been wars and rumours of war. Century after century has contributed its quota of wars waged for mastery and dominion. Empires have clashed, nations have fought duels, kings have encountered with kings and religions have wrestled for the souls of men on the battle-field. Millions upon millions of human beings have been sacrificed to Bellona, the goddess of war in the Temple of Mars :—

“ The soldier who falls in his harness,  
And strikes his last stroke with slack hand,  
On his dead face thy wrath and thy scorn is  
Imprinted. Oh, seeks he a land  
Where he shall escape thy command ? ”

The story of man is the story of war. Whatever the quarrel, however just or unjust the cause, there has never been any lack of volunteers and recruits ; the cannon fodder has always been forthcoming. With a few exceptions, of which China is a notable example, the military profession, whose duty and task it is to organise the international duel, has always been regarded with veneration and respect. Above all others it has been accorded pride of place. War is not a haphazard affair. It is an institution, perhaps the oldest in the world. It is not an act of God because it is planned and directed by human brains. It makes its appeal to the best and worst sides of human nature ; perhaps that is one of the reasons why it survives. It calls forth the virtues of self-sacrifice, patriotism, courage, determination, discipline and tenacity. It demands virility, skill, patience, initiative and drive. On the other hand, its vices include cruelty, bloodlust, hate, deceit, arrogance and callousness.



It demands implicit obedience and the suppression of conscience. It stifles the humane instincts of man and drags him down to the level of his savage and barbaric ancestors. Caves and jungles, now described as deep shelters and sovereign states, become his habitations ; deception, plot and counter-plot his stock-in-trade.

“ Thine arm, strong and cruel, and shapely,  
Lifts high the sharp, pitiless lance,  
And rapine and ruin and rape lie  
Around thee. The Furies advance.”

Moreover, war imposes inequality of sacrifice. A soldier is paid a pittance, a civilian amasses a fortune or revels in high wages. A soldier gives his life and sheds his blood on the battlefield, a civilian feathers his nest in the black market or indulges in strikes and other activities sabotaging the war effort. It is not surprising then that an institution which can make its appeal to the good and evil in human nature has attracted to its service good and evil men.

### *Doctrine of Inevitability*

It is this combination, reinforced by the combative instincts, pugnacious impulses, racial antipathies and the craving for excitement and adventure, which has induced so many people to regard war as inevitable. Their minds are obsessed with the idea that it is a provision or law of nature, an unfortunate but nevertheless a painful and inescapable necessity. They regard it as a competition designed by nature to ensure the survival of the fittest and most virile nations. The everlasting competition between the national sovereign states reaches its zenith in a state of war, when it is developed to the highest degree of intensity, and the fate of the contending nations depends upon the outcome of the struggle.

This thought, the inevitability of war, is one of the unseen assassins. It lurks in the back of our minds and is the root cause of our apathy and half-hearted attempts to grapple with the problems of peace and war. We become the victims of this fatalistic doctrine, which prevents us from visualising

the possibility of a warless world. It saps our energy and determination when we attempt to construct the Temple of Peace.

It follows that if we propose to embark upon this adventure we must first of all rid our minds of this fetish. We must cast out the devil of inevitability. This may not be easy, but it is nevertheless not an impossible feat, because the history, experience and development of every civilised community where the rule of law has been firmly established proves that the fatalistic doctrine of inevitability is false and absurd.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate this point. A few centuries ago war between England and Scotland was regarded as natural and inevitable. To-day it is unthinkable. During the last eighty years war between the states of the American Union has become unthinkable. The reason is not far to seek. When appropriate governmental institutions have been created or the pillar of federalism has been erected, the possibility of war is at least greatly diminished, even if it is not entirely removed. On the other hand, in a state of anarchy where every nation is a law unto itself, and refuses to recognise any higher authority than the national sovereign state, war is inevitable.

### *Moral Fibre*

It may also become inevitable if the moral fibre of civilisation becomes flabby and diseased. When individuals and nations fail to discover outlets for their pent-up energies, if they are denied opportunities of displaying their courage, heroism, virility and love of adventure—the virtues of war—they may gradually sink into a state of softness, decadence, materialism and luxury, which will sooner or later plunge them again into more blood baths, until the virus has been expelled from their systems. Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad—or decadent! On the other hand, if the virtues of war are able to find their expression in the activities of peace; if the good men are intent upon justice; if they are willing to uphold and, if necessary, to die in

defence of the public law—police action—then the inevitability of the international duel should no longer haunt our minds.

Here is what Mr. H. G. Wells says on this point: "The service of the World State calls for much more than exemplary martyrdoms. It calls for the greater effort of active interference with mischievous men. 'I will believe in the League of Nations,' one man has written, 'when men will fight for it.' For this League of Nations at Geneva, this little corner of Balfourian jobs and gentility, no man would dream of fighting, but for the great State of Mankind, men will presently be very ready to fight and, as the thing may go, either to kill or die."

Furthermore, if the good men of all nations are prepared to band themselves together to fight the common enemies of mankind—pestilence, famine, earthquakes and other catastrophes which from time to time descend upon some community, it may be in a distant part of the globe; if they organise themselves to assist, not to exploit, backward peoples and semi-civilised races; if they are animated by a spirit of service—"helping every feeble neighbour, seeking help from none"—then the energies and resources which in the past have been husbanded by the national sovereign state, in preparation for the next international duel, will be devoted to a higher purpose, the progress, not the decay, of civilisation. Moreover, if the scientists in their ceaseless endeavour to wrest the secrets of nature combine to employ their discoveries for the welfare of mankind, instead of its destruction, and if the spirit of adventure can find its expression in the arenas of exploration, economic development, Olympic games, sporting competitions and similar activities, then there need be no reason for alarm about the alleged decadence of civilisation. The virtues of war will have been diverted from the streams of domination and hate into the channels of co-operation and goodwill.

### *The Bad Men*

But, as Pascal has reminded us, "There are always the bad men," and the good men will never be able to thwart



the machinations of the bad men until they have established the rule of law. Moreover, it will be impossible to distinguish between the good and the bad until the character of war—physical coercion—has been completely changed. It must be transformed from the international duel into a policing action, the ultimate sanction of law, in order to deter nations from becoming aggressors and prevent them from inflicting injury upon their neighbours. When this transformation has been achieved war no longer becomes inevitable, because with the organisation of force to uphold the law and to secure justice there will also come a change of mentality. This change will gradually be reflected in the attitude of every nation in its relationships with other nations, just as the appearance of the sheriff and policeman in national communities has helped to mould, perhaps unconsciously, the attitude of citizens towards their neighbours. In the latter case, the duel and the necessity of arming for self-defence have been superseded by the court and the policeman.

### *Mental Faculties .v. Brute Force*

It is true that men fight for a cause. The fate of the cause, whether it is a good or a bad cause, is decided by an appeal to brute force. Here is Clausewitz's definition : " War is nothing but a duel on an extensive scale . . . each strives by physical force to compel the other to submit to his will ; each endeavours to throw his adversary, and thus render him incapable of further resistance. War therefore is an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will." Our opponent must fulfil our will whether our will is good or evil, just or unjust, reasonable or unreasonable. It follows that the moral degradation of war is not the suffering and misery it entails, but the unwillingness and inability of man to decide whether the cause is righteous by an appeal to reason and the moral sense. Physical violence usurps the functions of morality, equity and justice. The promptings of the spirit, the faculties of the mind, which distinguish men from the beasts of the field, are subordinated to brute force and the impact of the military machines.

The prevailing attitude towards war is admirably expressed in the following lines by Lindsay Gordon.

“ Hurrah for the sword ! I hold one here,  
And I scour at the rust, and say,  
'Tis the umpire this, and the arbiter,  
That settles in the fairest way ;  
For it stays false tongues and it cools hot blood,  
And it lowers the proud one's crest ;  
And the law of the land is sometimes good,  
But the law of the sword is best.  
In all disputes 'tis the shortest plan.  
The surest and best appeal ;  
What else can decide between man and man ?  
Hurrah for the bright blue steel ! ”

“ God is always on the side of the big battalions,” said Napoleon ; in other words, the destiny of nations and the fate of civilisation is decided by the amount of physical force which can be hurled into the battle. In the twentieth century of the Christian era there are few people who would suggest that war is God's method of passing judgment upon the righteousness of the cause. Man has been endowed with faculties which enable him to distinguish between right and wrong, between good and evil. Consequently, God has given him the choice of employing them or of resorting to violence. His faculties, however, have remained dormant because no institutions existed through which they could function effectively. Up till now man has steadfastly refused to create and organise these institutions. On the contrary, he has lavished all his energies, ingenuity, and resources in developing the cult and organisation of what Clausewitz described as “ a duel on an extensive scale,” although his moral sense and reason tell him that war is an insane and criminal method of trying to settle anything.

### *Apologies for War*

This is proved by the fact that the rulers of every sovereign state almost invariably invoke an ideology or the sacred right of self-defence before they embark upon hostilities.

Even the most barefaced aggressor always poses as the champion of justice and peace, and never admits that he is actuated by any other than the highest and loftiest motives. For instance, in the Franco-German war of 1870 Bismarck forged a telegram in order to convince his people that he was not the aggressor. In the Boer war Chamberlain, voicing the grievances of the Uitlanders, declared that he was compelled by force of circumstances to take up arms. In the first World War Berchtold, the Austrian Chancellor, demanded the punishment of Serbia for the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand. Mussolini denounced Communism ; Hitler demanded his Lebensraum ; Japan her East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Before they embarked upon the ancient practice of trial by battle, they all discovered excuses and protested the righteousness of their cause. Not one of them would consent to the establishment of a higher authority through which a decision could be reached by an appeal to morality, reason and the faculties of the mind. Like the persons invited to the marriage feast, the leaders of the national sovereign states always felt compelled, with one accord, to make excuses for their indecent and criminal behaviour before they plunged their peoples into war, some defiantly, some more or less shamefacedly, but all apologetically.

### *Attitude of Civilised Man*

For centuries civilised men and women have realised that the institution of war is an evil thing. They deplore the suffering, misery and impoverishment it inflicts upon the guilty and innocent alike, but in spite of their antipathy and misgivings they have steadfastly refused to discover an alternative for war. In the eternal struggle between good and evil they have failed to employ the faculties of the mind as the final arbiters of human destiny. On the contrary, they have relied upon the resources of the body. Spiritual, moral and intellectual weapons have been discarded and thrown on one side. From time immemorial, militaristic, materialistic and scientific forces have been organised to



impose the will of one section of the human race upon another, regardless of any question of right or wrong.

*Temple of Mars or Temple of Peace?*

Higherto mankind has been content to worship in the Temple of Mars and all attempts to erect the Temple of Peace have ended in failure. The foundations of the former are deeply embedded in the concept of the national sovereign state which demands the undivided allegiance and loyalty of its subjects, and stubbornly repudiates the conception of any higher authority or the development of those institutions through which the faculties of the mind can exercise supremacy in human affairs, reinforced when necessary by the resources of the body. The Temple of Mars is supported by the pillars of sovereignty, power politics, tyranny, competitive national armaments, despotism, imperialism and ignorance. Contrast these with the pillars it is proposed to erect in the Temple of Peace—morality, justice, freedom, collective force, democracy, federalism and education. Mankind cannot worship in both temples; he must choose between them.

At the conclusion of this Armageddon the choice must be made. There is no room for compromise. If the Temple of Peace is to be made secure, the Temple of Mars must be dismantled. Half-measures, like the Covenant of the League of Nations, will not suffice, and will only end in fresh failures and disasters. The problem of brute force has still to be solved. Is it to be the master or servant of mankind? The choice affects every human being; its repercussions will reverberate throughout the centuries to come, and will decide the fate of generations yet unborn. God grant that when the armistice bugles have sounded and the last shot has been fired; when the still, small voice of conscience begins to stir in the minds of men and is once more able to make itself heard, the peoples of the world will abandon the Temple of Mars and consecrate all their thoughts and energies in constructing the Temple of Peace.



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